

THE RUSSIAN ICON

Oxford University Press

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COPY OF OUR LADY OF VLADIMIR

School of Rublev. XV cent. Page 88

THE RUSSIAN ICON

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OXFORD MCMXXVII
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

DEDICATED
BY THE AUTHOR'S SPECIAL DESIRE
TO
JOHN O. CRANE

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

NIKODÍM PÁVLOVICH KONDAKÓV was described by Gabriel Millet as the patriarch of Byzantinists, and as such he received upon his eightieth birthday the congratulations of all his colleagues and pupils ; three months later (17 February 1925), still full of schemes for further study, with work still in the press, and manuscripts ready for publication, he died at Prag, unable to withstand the hard conditions which exile made inevitable.

As a student in the sixties he had written on early art in Serbia, and his dissertation in 1876 was a history of Byzantine art in illuminated manuscripts. It was perhaps the extensions of that art which most interested him ; Italy, Sicily, Macedonia, Syria and Palestine, Georgia, each region in turn claimed his attention. No one could be better prepared to put the art of Russia, his own country, in its proper place among its allied arts. To this he turned his particular attention at the end of the eighties, and the first trustworthy sketch of the older period of Russian art was in Parts IV to VI (1891-9) of his *Russian Antiquities* produced in conjunction with Count I. I. Tolstoy. During the nineties he was chiefly occupied by enamels Byzantine and Russian, but about the beginning of this century he turned to icons. He took the main part in founding the ' Committee for the Encouragement of Russian Icon-painting ', and part of its task was the publication of early examples and ancient Painters' Guides. Side by side with this went the cleaning of the old paintings, and this meant the discovery of an unknown art. Until the layers of smoke-darkened varnish had been cleared away no one dreamed of the gay colour of such icons as Pl. X or XXXVI. This discovery aroused among Russian art-lovers the most extravagant enthusiasm : not only are the early icons very beautiful in themselves, but they naturally appealed with special force to Russians, and further they were revealed to a generation which set far less store by faithful representationalism than any which had preceded it. Familiarity with Far Eastern art, with the art of Nearer Asia, exciting and blending with the newer movements in Western art, prepared men to declare the frescoes and icons of the Novgorod school to be equal to anything on earth. This extravagant enthusiasm produced in our author a reaction, so that in this book his attitude towards icons is more critical than could be

expected of a man expounding the art of his own country and the object of his long study. One might almost say that the author undervalues the subject of his book, a thing so rarely met with that the translator must point it out, though it was clearly outside his competence to modify in any way its expression; the fact is that Russian readers would be in need rather of restraint than stimulus in their appreciation of icons.

This opposition to the enthusiastic school is from another point of view a special case of the old opposition between Moscow and Petersburg, between the Russian nationalists and the Westernizers. This book is of Petersburg, it is founded upon the great collection of icons in the Russian Museum, formerly called the Museum of Alexander III, which just before the war doubled its treasures by the acquisition of those brought together by our author's friend, N. P. Likhachëv. These two friends were great supporters of a Westernizing theory of Russian art, seeing in the fresh start it made in the fourteenth century the strong influence of Italy. The Moscow school was inclined to put it rather to the credit of the Constantinopolitan revival under the Palaeologi. The newest writers, thoroughly approved by Kondakov, show that the elements entering into the question are more varied and complicated than had been realized. Aynálov (*vide* p. 82, n. 1) makes it appear from his study of the mosaics of Kahrie Djami, the monastery of Khora in Constantinople, decorated by Theodore Metochites, *c.* 1320, of certain fourteenth-century mosaics at S. Mark's, Venice, particularly the baptistery, and other works of the time, that all these are full of influences not merely from Italian but even from Romanesque and Gothic art. Gabriel Millet takes an even wider view: 'Il nous paraît acquis qu'on ne pourra désormais tenter d'expliquer l'art du xiv^e siècle, chez les Byzantins et les Slaves, sans examiner les deux facteurs; Orient et Italie. Mais ils n'absorberont pas toute notre attention; ils n'effaceront pas de notre souvenir la grande tradition Byzantine: ils ne cacheront pas à nos yeux l'œuvre créatrice dont l'honneur revient à la Byzance des Paléologues. Kondakov et Likhačev, profonds connaisseurs du Trecento, en ont reconnu le mérite. À nous-mêmes, qui devons à Mistra le meilleur de notre vie scientifique, il est permis d'exprimer notre estime pour cet art vigoureux, sûr de son effet, distingué dans le dessin et la couleur.' *Recherches*, p. 629, *vide inf.* p. xx.

Elsewhere Millet has explained that there were from ancient times two parallel traditions, the Hellenistic, best represented in Alexandria and afterwards at Constantinople, and the Oriental, Coptic, Syrian, best preserved in Cappadocia, influencing Rome and the West

through its possession of Palestine, the goal of pilgrims, and continually acting upon and reacting to Constantinople. So the Serbian frescoes of the fourteenth century show Oriental themes, a direct Constantinopolitan element, and something coming from Italy though clothed in East European forms.

A great wave of influence from the South Slavs made itself felt in Russia in the following century, but artists were also imported from Greece, and architects, at any rate, from Italy. There was a criss-cross of inextricable currents, as Mr. Dalton has said to me (letter of 1 October 1924), 'a stirring of the waters all over the place. . . . I rather hold with those who think the Italian influence more superficial and partial, the East-Christian tradition being firmly established below. . . . A curious thing about the Italian influence is, that the Greeks apparently took no notice whatever of Giotto and his suite, but in the full fourteenth century and even in the fifteenth stuck to the thirteenth-century Italian details—when they stuck to any. This I suppose was the Italian art that their own people had helped to form on Italian soil.'

We may perhaps take it that in this question of the ultimate influence of Italian art upon Russian, our author, knowing the West well, saw too much of the West, while the Moscow school has been too much inclined to minimize it.

The Russian Museum which furnishes the greater part of our illustrations was in the forefront of the movement for cleaning icons. Next to it came the collections at Novgorod. This work has been continued since the Revolution, during which the Museum suffered not at all, though it is probable that some damage has been done in churches. The new Government regards icons without any religious reverence, merely as pictures; and if there is a good chance of discovering something interesting under later paint or varnish, the authorities have no shyness about it.

Sir Martin Conway saw the process at work and bears witness to the extreme patience and skill which were being applied.¹ The icons of Moscow, Troitse-Sergievo, and Vladimir are being revealed to us. The general result is to show that the traditional age of the original icon is often correct, but that repainting has changed not only detail or colouring but general design so completely that the surface which later generations have known bears hardly any relation to the original painting. In another few years it will be possible and necessary to rewrite the story of Russian icons, particularly in the earliest

¹ *Art Treasures in Soviet Russia*, London, 'Restoration of Old Russian Paintings', 925, pp. 51-9; cf. N. Levinson, 'The *Slavonic Review*, iii (1924), pp. 350-5.

period and perhaps in the latest, to which for many reasons little attention has been paid. For the present the main lines drawn by our author remain.

It must be remarked that on the one hand this is a history of the icon, not of Russian painting as a whole : our author has hardly spoken of the mosaics and frescoes : the difference in scale and technique has made this possible, though the interaction in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was of great importance. On the other hand he has confined himself to the painted icons, leaving on one side the enamels he had formerly studied, the curious icons sculptured in wood, and the little *obrazki* in copper, brass, or wood which scarcely count as works of art.

The text of the work, being shortened from a much larger book intended mainly to illustrate the Russian Museum for the benefit of Russians, has required some adaptation for West-European readers, and this received the author's approval. The notes are due, some to the author, more to the translator. The author's notes are mostly references to literature, often to works in Russian, from which a fair bibliography of the subject could be compiled ; though these are mostly hard of access to English readers it has seemed wise to let them stand to guide students who may wish to go deeper into the subject. The translator has supplied either in the introductory matter or in his notes information that a Western reader may need ; it does not so much touch the artistic side of things as what may be called the antiquarian, giving translations of nearly all the inscriptions which are so prominent a feature of icons, and explanations of points of ritual or history required for their understanding. To many readers this will seem unnecessary, but to some minds it will be welcome.

In a certain number of cases the translator has indicated in the notes the existence of views opposed to those of the author. He is not unaware that in so doing he lays himself open to a charge of, as it were, disloyalty to his author, who was in some cases very definitely opposed to the opinions expressed, but in treating a new subject, the literature of which is singularly inaccessible, he has thought it his duty to warn the English reader that certain conclusions are not universally accepted, even though he has not space for setting out the full arguments on both sides. While he has not generally thought it necessary to distinguish notes that he has added in mere elucidation of things mentioned in the text, he has appended his initials when conscious of any deviation from his author.

Whatever may be thought of this question, he is conscious of a certain satisfaction in having preserved and made accessible an outline of the work which the chief authority upon Russian art had

composed, but which his own misfortunes and those of his country threatened entirely to destroy. Even if the complete work sees the light, it will be in Russian, and accordingly almost a closed book to Western readers. This shorter account will in any case be useful to students who may not wish entirely to neglect an important branch of European art.

My greatest thanks are due to the author who entrusted his work to me for translation ; he first interested me in the subject when I was his guest in Russia many years ago, and had supplied me with his writings as they appeared ; my one regret is that he did not live to see the finished book. So, too, I am indebted to his friend Academician N. P. Likhachëv for actual icons, for many beautiful books, and constant encouragement. In Moscow I would thank my old friend Mr. A. V. Orêshnikov of the Historical Museum for books and help, and not least for putting me into touch with his colleague Professor A. A. Zakhárov, who sent me many books as gifts, and enabled me to acquire others without which I could not have done my work : special thanks are due to Professor V. I. Anísimov, who sent the photographs Pls. VA and XX to illustrate the two most important revelations of the new era : also to Mr. M. I. Alpátov for his encouragement. Both author and translator have been under great obligations to Mr. John O. Crane of the American Legation at Prag. In this country I have profited by the counsel of Mr. O. M. Dalton. To Professors Sir Bernard Pares and Prince D. P. Svyatopólk Mirski and the Slavonic School of King's College, London, I am indebted for moral support and an opportunity of lecturing upon the subject. Mrs. Birkbeck welcomed me most kindly at Lound. To Dr. G. F. Hill my thanks are due for putting me in touch with the Clarendon Press. The outer form of the book speaks for itself ; it shows the work of my counsellors at the Press, of the plate-makers, compositors, and readers ; no words of mine are needed to make clear what I owe to them.

E. H. M.

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THE STAMP *upon the Cover is taken from the contemporary Binding of a copy of the first Slavonic Bible printed at Ostrog in Volhynia in 1581 now in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge*

THE FLEURON *on the Title-page comes from what seems a unique Horologion printed at Vilna in 1587 now in the Library of King's College, Cambridge*

BOOKS AND THEIR ABBREVIATED TITLES

The Russian titles have mostly not been given either here or in the notes. Books quoted with titles in English and noted as published at M. (Moscow) or P. (Petrograd) may be assumed to be in Russian.

WORKS BY THE AUTHOR

quoted by him in the text.

Histoire de l'art byzantin considéré principalement dans les Miniatures, Paris, 1886, enlarged reissue of a Russian book published at Odessa in 1876.

'*Les Sculptures de la Porte de Sainte Sabine à Rome*', *Revue Archéologique*, 1877, pp. 361-72.

Russian Antiquities in Monuments of Art. With Count I. I. Tolstoy.

I. Classical Antiquities of South Russia, P. 1889.

II. Scytho-Sarmatian Antiquities, P. 1889.

III. Antiquities of the Migration Period, P. 1890.

IV. Christian Antiquities of the Crimea, Kiev, and the Caucasus, P. 1895.

V. Antiquities taken from Barrows and Hoards of the Pre-Mongol Period, P. 1897.

VI. Monuments of Vladimir, Novgorod, and Pskov, P. 1899. (Quoted as *R. Antiq.*)

Description of the Ancient Monuments in certain Churches and Monasteries of Georgia, P. 1890. (*Georgia*.)

Byzantine Enamels: A. V. Zvenigorodski's Collection: also in French and German, P. and Frankfort, 1892. (*Zvenigorodskoy Collection*.)

Russian Hoards; an Examination of the Antiquities of the Grand Ducal Period, vol. i (all issued), P. 1896.

Monuments of Christian Art on Mount Athos, P. 1902. (*Athos*.)

An Archaeological Journey in Syria and Palestine, P. 1904. (*Palestine*.)

Illustrated Guide for Icon-painters (Litsevoy Ikonopisny Pódlínnik). Vol. i. *Iconography of the Lord God and of Our Saviour Jesus Christ*, P. 1905. (*Iconography of Our Saviour*.)

Macedonia. An Archaeological Journey, P. 1909.

Iconography of Our Lady: Connexions (Svyázi) of Greek and Russian Icon-painting with Italian Painting of the Early Renaissance: in Pt. IV of the *Ikonopisny Sbórník*, P. 1910, and separately, P. 1911. (*Iconography B. V. M.: Connexions*, 1910.)

Iconography of Our Lady; vol. i (to the ninth century), P. 1913. (*Iconography B. V. M. I.* 1913.)

Iconography of Our Lady; vol. ii (to the thirteenth century), P. 1915. (*Iconography B. V. M. II.* 1915.)

For a memoir of N. P. Kondakov, a portrait, and a full bibliography of his writings the reader is referred to the *Recueil Kondakov* published by the Seminarium Kondakovianum, Prag, 1926.

xx BOOKS AND THEIR ABBREVIATED TITLES

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- DALTON, O. M. : *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*. Oxford, 1911. (*Byz. Art*) *East Christian Art*. Oxford, 1925.
- DIEHL, CH. : *Manuel d'Art Byzantin*², Paris, 1925. (*Manuel*.)
- DIONYSIUS OF FOURNA. 'Ερμηνεία τῆς Ζωγραφικῆς Τέχνης : ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, P. 1909. (*Greek Painters' Guide*.)
- GRÁBAR', I. : *History of Russian Art*. vi. 'History of Painting.' Vol. i, *The Epoch before Peter*. Mostly by P. P. Muratov, M., c. 1914. (Grabar'-Muratov.)
- HALLE, FANNINA W. : *Alt-Russische Kunst*, Orbis Pictus 2, Berlin, c. 1920. (Halle.) There is said to be a French issue.
- LIKHACHËV, N. P. *Materials for the History of Russian Icon-painting*, 2 vols., all plates, no text, P. 1906. (*Materials*.)
- Historical Importance of Italo-Greek Icon-painting*, P. 1911.
- MILLET, GABRIEL : *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Évangile au XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e Siècles*, Paris, 1916. (*Recherches*.)
- MOURATOV, P. P. : *L'Ancienne Peinture Russe*, Prag, 1925 (*Peinture*.)
- RÉAU, LOUIS : *L'Art Russe des Origines à Pierre le Grand*, Paris, 1921.
- WULFF, O., und MICHAEL ALPATOFF, *Denkmäler der Ikonenmalerei in Kunstgeschichtlicher Folge bearbeitet*, Dresden, 1925. (Wulff-Alpatoff.)

All these books except Wulff-Alpatoff exist at Cambridge.

Important articles are to be found in the *Transactions (Zapiski) of the Russian Archaeological Society* (St. P.); *Drévnosti* (Antiquities) of the Moscow Archaeological Society, and the *Trudy* ('Transactions') of various local Archaeological Congresses held under its auspices : also in art magazines such as *Zolotóe Runó* (the Golden Fleece), especially No. 7-9, M. 1906 ; *Sofia*, M. 1914 ; *Rússkoe Iskústvo* (R. Art.), M. 1923 ; and special series like *Rússkaya Ikóna*, P. 1914,¹ and *Svétíl'nik* (the Lamp), M. 1912-15. See bibliographical summary by M. Alpatov and N. Brunov, 'Die alt-russische Kunst in der wissenschaftlichen Forschung seit 1914', *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie*, N. F. ii (1925) pp. 474-505.

Collections of Russian icons are rare outside Russia : in England Major B. Birkbeck's at Lound in Suffolk is by far the best, and was the nucleus of an exhibition in London in 1916 ; Captain B. Anrep showed some very interesting Novgorod icons in London in January 1926 : public galleries have only one or two specimens each, or else a few of the late brass icons (cf. W. Sparrow Simpson, 'Russo-Greek Portable Icons of Brass', *Brit. Arch. Ass.*, 1867, pp. 113-23). There are some at Stockholm (cf. T. J. Arne, *Det Stora Svitjod*, Stockholm, 1917), many at Berlin, some at Munich, and interesting examples in the Vatican (*vide* p. 74).

¹ Seen by me too late: splendid plates and full discussions of the icons shown on Pls. X, XII, XIV. 1, 2, XXXVI, XXXVIII.

INSCRIPTIONS AND LETTERING

AN icon usually has a heading to define its subject and inscriptions to name all the principal persons or groups. The alphabet used is the Cyrillic, founded on the Greek Uncial, with the addition of extra letters for special Slavonic sounds. Some of these sounds having disappeared in Russian and in Church Slavonic as pronounced by Russians, the signs also disappeared, or were used as alternatives for others with which they had come to coincide in sound. Peter the Great eliminated some of these doublets and unnecessary Greek letters, and the modern Bolshevik orthography has done away with the rest. The type used for the alphabet here given was prepared for H. W. Ludolf's *Grammatica Russica*, Oxford, 1696.

Russo-Slavonic Alphabet.

1 А а a	50 Н or Нн n	Ѧ Ѧ mute (‘)
Б б b	70 О о o	И и vowel y
2 В в v	80 П п p	Ь ь soft sign (’)
3 Г г g	100 Р р r	Ѣ Ѣ ê
4 Д д d	200 С с s	Ю ю yu
5 Е е e	300 Т т m t	Ѡ Ѡ ya
Ж ж zh	400 У у u	ѡ ѡ ya (<nasale)
6 З з } z	500 Ф ф f	60 Ѧ Ѧ x
7 И or Ии } i	600 Х х kh	700 Ѧ Ѧ ps
8 Н or Нн }	800 Ц ц ts	9 Ѧ Ѧ f (for θ)
10 І і }	90 Ч ч ch	Ѧ Ѧ i before
20 К к k	Ш ш sh	cons. :
30 Л л l	Ѧ Ѧ shch	v before
40 М м m		vowel.

The transliteration used is that recommended by the British Academy.

The writing imitates and exaggerates all the tricks of Greek lettering.

The purely Greek contractions \overline{MP} (often a monogram of *M H P*) = *Μήτηρ*; $\overline{\Theta\varsigma}$, $\overline{\Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon}$; \overline{IC} = *Ἰησοῦς*; \overline{XC} = *Χριστός*; were taken over unchanged, also $\overline{\delta\omega\nu}$ which always marks Our Lord's halo. These I have mostly left untranscribed. $\overline{\delta\alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma}$ appears in a variety of forms, *vide* Pls. II, VI. 1, VII. 1, VIII. 2, X, XII. 2, &c., sometimes even with the Slavonic **Ѧ** at the end or ω in place of \omicron .

On the model of the Greek *nomina sacra* were made Slavonic contractions, e. g. бѣъ = Богъ, *Bogh*, God ; гдѣъ = Господь, *Ghospód'*, Lord ; ѿцѣъ = Отецъ, *otéts*, Father ; сѣъ = Сынъ, *syn*, Son ; дхѣъ = Духъ, *Dukh*, Spirit ; члвкъ = чловѣкъ, *chlovék*, man ; крѣъ = крестъ, *krest*, cross ; бца = Богородица, *Boghoróditsa*, Theotokos. But as in Latin the analogy was extended very widely, e. g. свѣи (sometimes с) = Святой, *Svyatý*, Saint ; апѣъ = Апостолъ, *Apostol* ; црѣъ, царь, *Tsar'* ; a special feature is that one of the letters left out in the line is often put in just under the tittle or in combination with it ; слво = слово, *slóvo*, word ; ѿа прѣа = Иоаннъ Предтеча, *Ioánn Predtéchá*, John the Forerunner. There is no end to capricious abbreviations of names, &c., where space or decorative effect required. Т is replaced by ꙗ, з by ѓ, and ѣ or ѥ by ' above the line. Contracted forms may have flexional or adjectival endings, бѣа = бога, *Bóga* = *Dei*, бжје = божіе, *Bózhie* = *Divinum*.

Pls. XII and XVII show archaic letters and forms not given in the table : they also use no breathings and accents, which only came with a fresh wave of Greek influence in the fifteenth century. Cursive writing, e. g. on Pls. II. 1, XXXII, XXXV. 1, L, LIII, LXII, shows an extreme variety of forms, such as it would be useless to tabulate. Spelling also is most irregular.

The chief difficulty, however, in reading the inscriptions, especially the headings, is in the combination of contractions with the form of writing called *vyaz'*, which makes an inscription into a kind of continuous monogram with the letters interwoven or welded together. V. N. Shchepkin (*Drevnosti*, xx, pp. 59-80, Pl. xxxix-LV) has studied the development of *vyaz'* and made it a valuable criterion for dating both MSS. and icons. It occurs in a simple form in Greek work, e. g. ΓΕΝΝΗΣΙC on Pl. XV, cf. Pls. XXII and XLVII. By the sixteenth century the desire for decorative effect, especially that of a regular series of vertical lines, excused such distortion of the letters as to make reading difficult, e. g. Pls. XXVII, LIII, LIV. 2. The heading of Pl. XXIX p. (107) is a fair example, the letters are

ЄДИНОРОДНЬИ СѢЪ И ЄЛѢО БЖІЄ,

showing how they are welded together, tucked into one another, overwritten, and left out by contraction. Pl. XXXI has clever interweaving, but little contraction and no welding. The letters above Pl. LIII (p. 170) are

ЧЮДОСТАГОЄЛИКОМЧѢКАХРѢТОВАЄЄДОРАТИРОНАЄЗМИ

чудо с(вя)таго великом(у)ч(е)н(и)ка Хр(и)стова Θεοδора Τιρονα ο ζμiα.

A good example of this procedure is the lettering from above the principal figure of Pl. LV (p. 173), in the sketch below : the letters are :

С[вя]тый Алексѣй Митрополитъ Моск[овскій] Чюдотворецъ.

The last word *chudotvorets* = thaumaturgus shows it particularly well.



NAMES OF SAINTS, ETC.

The names of the saints and consequently the Christian names of Russians were for the most part taken from the Greek and, as far as Russian phonetics allowed, pronounced more or less as in modern Greek, e. g. *αι* and *ε* appear as *e*; *ου* as *u*; *ει, η, ι, οι* and *υ* as *i*; *β* (and *υ* in *αυ* and *ευ*) as *v*; aspirate *χ* and *φ* as spirant *x* and *φ* (*kh, f*); also the rough breathing has lost all sound, and the musical accent has kept its position but become a stress. Further, the Russians substituted the spirant *f* for spirant *θ*, so duplicating *φ*; and prefixed a *y* sound to *e*. Russian did not accept the spirant sounds for *γ* and *δ* (*γ = h* is later): nor except in a few loan words, e. g. *κοντάκιον*, *kondak* (from which our author's name is derived), the pronunciation nasal+surd as sonant. Moreover, they dropped the terminations *-ης* and *-ος*, and substituted for them after consonants their mute *-ъ*, after vowels *ѣ* (our *y*, but the short mark is mostly absent: for simplicity I write final *-iѣ* from *-ιος*, as *i*): *-ας* mostly appears just as *-a*, sometimes after a vowel as *-ѣ*: *-η* comes out as *-a*, *-αιος* as *-ѣѣ*, and *-ων* gen. *-ωντος* as *-онтъ* (*ont*).

But Christian nomenclature included Hebrew and Syriac names from the LXX and New Testament, and names of Syrian, Egyptian, and especially Latin saints: these once transliterated into Greek were treated just like true Greek names, e. g. every *b* becomes *v*, *h* is dropped, &c. Hence forms like *Ávdi* for Obadiah, *Avvakúm* for Habakkuk, *Iákov* = both Jacob and James, *Sávva* for Saba, *Vassián* for Bassianus, *Lavr* for Laurus, *Ilári* for Hilarius.

The commoner names naturally suffered further change in Russian mouths: *Pável*, *Iván*, *Praskóvia* (for *Pavl*, *Ioánn*, *Paraskevá*) may be used upon icons, but more popular forms showing greater changes are usually avoided except in the case of donors' names.

In rendering these names into English I have used the form which would seem least strange to an Englishman; where possible, the thoroughly anglicized, John, Andrew, and the like: failing these, the Latin form of the full Greek name (e. g. Eusebius is more easily grasped by us than *Evsevi*). In the case of names really native in origin, and perhaps one or two others mostly non-Greek, I have left exact transliterations of the Russian form, and where a name appeared in conjunction with the thoroughly Russian patronymic, or surname, any form but the Russian is apt to seem discordant: I find myself writing *Tsar Alexis*, but *Alexêy Mikháilovich*. I have not aimed at an artificial consistency. Names of Russian authors writing in French or German I have kept in the forms used by them though inconsistent with my English system. So with accents, I have put them on about the first time a word or name occurs as a guide to pronunciation, but have not regarded them as an essential part of a word's English dress, save in the case of words we seem naturally to mispronounce.



Peter Roberson

SUMMARY OF RUSSIAN HISTORY

so far as it concerns Icon-painting.

- 862-879 Rúrik, a Varyag from Sweden, established his power at Novgorod. His successor Olég transfers it to Kiev; these are the end points of a commercial route from the Baltic to the Black Sea.
- 879-912 Intercourse both warlike and peaceful with Byzance: beginnings of Christianity.
- 912-945 Ígor'. His widow Ól'ga, regent for his son Svyatosláv, goes to Constantinople and accepts Christianity.
- 955-988 Reaction to Paganism under Svyatosláv, Yaropólk, and Vladímir.
- 988 Vladímir takes Chersonesus (Cherson, Korsún'), the chief Greek town of the Crimea, is there baptized, and brings thence to Kiev priests, holy vessels, and icons: he marries Anna, daughter of the Emperor, and adopts Christianity for Russia, building churches at Kiev, Novgorod, &c.
- 1015 Death of Vladímir. Murder of Borís and Gléb. Accession of Yarosláv, 1015-1054, under whom S. Sophia of Kiev was built. After Yaroslav the principality of Russia falls to pieces under the descendants of Vladímir.
- 1147 Moscow first mentioned.
- 1169 Vladímir on the Klyáz'ma becomes the seat of the Grand Duke of Russia, pressure from the steppe people moving the centre of gravity towards the NE. Novgorod and Pskov almost independent republics.
- 1224 Battle of the Kalka. The Tartars defeat the Russian princes and dominate Russia, largely isolating it.
- 1240 Destruction of Kiev; S. Russia is swept bare, the people fleeing either NW. to Galicia or N. and E. to the basin of the Oká, Vladímir, and Súzda'.
- 1299 The Metropolitan See is officially transferred from Kiev to Vladímir.
- 1328 The See is transferred to Moscow, which steadily rises through the century under Prince Ivan Kalitá 1328, and Metropolitans Peter 1308, Theognostus 1327, Alexis 1353.
- 1338 The Trinity Monastery founded by S. Sergius of Rádonezh, *d.* 1393.
- 1380 Battle of Kúlikovo Póle: first great defeat of the Tartars.
- 1389 Seat of Grand Duchy fixed at Moscow. Eastern region declines owing to the rise of the Kazán Tartars.
- 1450 Rise of Stróganov Family.
- 1472 Ivan III of Moscow marries Sophia Palaeologu: reinforcement of Byzantinism.
- 1475 The Cathedral of the Dormition at Moscow built by a Bolognese, Fioraventi.

- 1478 Novgorod conquered by Moscow.
- 1480 Breaking of the Tartar yoke.
- 1542 Macarius, Metropolitan of Moscow.
- 1547 He brings icon-painters from Novgorod.
- 1551 Council of the Stoglav or Hundred Chapters to reform the Church.
- 1552 Taking of Kazán.
- 1553 The English reach Muscovy by the White Sea. These events lead to a revival in Eastern Russia, Rostóv, and Yaroslávl'.
- 1558 Stróganovs very prosperous.
- 1588 Patriarchate of Moscow established.
- 1591 Murder of Demetrius, son of Ivan the Terrible, at Úglich.
- 1598 Death of Theodore, son of Ivan, last of the House of Rurik. Accession of Borís Godunóv.
- 1604 The Poles invade Russia with the False Demetrius.
- 1605 Death of Godunóv. The Troublous Times last till 1613.
- 1613 Accession of Michael Feódorovich Románov.
- 1645 Tsar Alexêy Mikháilovich.
- 1652 Nikon Patriarch.
- 1654 His Council to reform the Service Books and Rites lead to the great schism of the Old Believers rejecting his innovations.
- 1667 Paisius Patriarch of Alexandria and Macarius of Antioch journey through Russia.
- 1686 Peter the Great sole Tsar.
- 1700 Patriarchate abolished.
- 1707 St. Petersburg made the capital.
- 1721 The Clerical Reglément, a reform of the Church accompanied by much disregard of antiquity.
- 1917 The Revolution.

INTRODUCTION

THIS book gives shortly the contents of a long historical work, the outcome of a task laid upon the writer many years ago by the authorities of the Russian Museum in Petrograd, formerly called the Alexander III Museum. In this there had been formed a great gallery of icons by uniting several important collections amounting to more than 3,500 examples, and these required systematic classification. In order to make his history of the Russian icon complete and to bring in specimens of icon-painting wherever they might be in the churches, museums, and private collections of Russia, the author spent several years in visiting and examining such collections. The disasters which have befallen Russia put a stop to the execution of his plan just as he was ready for the actual work of bringing out the book, and the material got together for illustrating it could not be utilized. The collection in the Russian Museum from which his illustrations were mainly drawn, had been photographed long before, but an important part of his material, the icons in the churches of Nóvgorod, Pskov, Moscow, and Yaroslávl', and in private possession, though dealt with in his text was not available for his pictures.

A scientific illustration of any subject in the history of art must for the complete support and proof of its main arguments, its deductions and its hypotheses, be accompanied by pictures of the objects with which it deals, so a big work of this kind cannot be produced without the very fullest illustration.¹ The shortening of such a work to a summary such as this means a corresponding reduction in its illustrations, enough if it sets forth the more important historical epochs and gives characteristic specimens both of personal creative art and of mere craftsmanship with its ancient examples and its century-old technique.

Among graphic (representational) arts the icon took the first place in Russian life. Apart from the early Novgorod wall-painting,

¹ There was some intention of publishing the complete Russian work under the auspices of the Czecho-Slovak Government: it may be that the author's death

will bring the scheme to nothing: the materials are deposited with the University of Prag. It may be carried through by the newly founded Seminarium Kondakovianum.

we may call the icon the chief expression of religious thought and popular feeling even in the fourteenth century ; later on, when wall-painting became subordinate to icon-painting, the icon became the one and only symbol of faith. In view of this special significance and of its derivation from the best Byzantine model, the Russian icon takes its place as the continuation of a very high artistic tradition and in its development offers an unparalleled example of artistic craftsmanship. In its decorative qualities, in the unlikeness of its compositions to any others, in the severity of its types, in the ideal character and spiritual depth of the religious thought it conveyed, the icon is to be compared with the early period of religious art in the west of Europe. Besides this the historian of art must bear in mind that the easel-picture arose in course of time out of the icon and he must make every effort to gain a clear view of the art-type represented by the Russian icon in order to understand the historical traditions that lie at the base of the picture and to this day form a part of it. Finally the Russian icon has gone on existing for a long time, since the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present day as a handicraft or *kustár'* product.¹ As such it deserves the attention of historians of art, for artistic handicrafts present most difficult and complicated problems to historical interpretation and accordingly their study has been avoided. This explains the rudimentary condition of Russian archaeological science with regard to this very sphere of knowledge and again the specially lively interest in it which has been aroused in quite recent years. But now that a whole series of remarkable collections of icons has been formed and the beginnings of a literature of the subject made, we may say that at last the time has come for Russian archaeology to study Russian icon-painting and trace through five centuries the life-history of a peculiar artistic phenomenon. Two centuries of neglect, beginning with Peter's time, have sundered the Russian people from the last flourishing period of icon-painting and destroyed a greater number of examples than all the town fires or devastations of the countryside of Muscovy. From inventories we know exactly how rich in icons the Russian cathedrals, monasteries, and private houses used to be and how the Muscovites revered ancient and hallowed icons. Still more exactly can we follow since the eighteenth century how the ancient icons have been dis-

¹ *Kustár'* (adj. *kustárny*) from German *Kunst* means a craftsman who works on his own, whether in wood, metal, or any material, in his own house in a town or more often a village, as opposed to a manufacturer and his employees. See, e.g., *L'Art*

Populaire Russe à la Seconde Exposition Koustare de toute la Russie à Petrograd, 1913, pubd. by the Ministry of Agriculture, P. 1914. Text in Russian and French : 35 icons illustrated, many with prices.

appearing wholesale from the Russian churches. Even as late as the early nineteenth century the Moscow churches were full of old church stuff. The walls of the monasteries were hung with 'Votive' and 'Festival' icons and the outer chapels with panels of the Saints of the Kalendar (*Menaea*). As people ceased to care for them, forgot them, and no longer looked after them (and they require constant repair), they were put away into store and that meant destruction for masses of the best icons. Hence the appearance of all sorts of imitation work on tinfoil (*fólexhnoe*), make-believe,¹ paper, and shop-works of the cheapest sort.

Icon-painting hid itself in the depths of the country : at Súzdal' and in the Súzdal' district there arose whole settlements of icon-painters, Mstëra, Palëkh, and Khóluy, but of these Palëkh and Khóluy had already adopted the 'Frankish' style² and 'naturalistic' painting (*zhivopis'*). Little Russia had rude 'naturalistic' icons as early as the seventeenth century : the success of Borovikóvski's talent attracted general attention. The cathedrals³ and churches of the South began to be decorated by ordinary painters ; the South was followed by Muscovy in deserting the old fashion. The only people left to revere it were the Old Believers (*vide* p. 190). They adopted as their favourite style that called after the Stróganovs and thus ensured its predominance in the workshops of Moscow and Súzdal'.

The excessive admiration for everything Western which was universal among educated Russians during the eighteenth century suffered a reaction at the time of the war against Napoleon. National feeling was raised to a high pitch upon which it was sustained by the romantic tendency of the new Russian literature. The educated classes were drawn into a movement, called on its political side Slavophilism, for restoring and preserving the popular traditions and at the same time everything old.

Educated men of the highest social position, such as Rumyántsev,

¹ *Podubórnoe*, a board painted only where the flesh parts showed through the metal *ríza* ; *vide* p. 37.

² *Fryáz'*, a style of icon so deeply influenced by Western methods as to be an unsatisfactory compromise.

³ I retain this the usual translation of *Sobór*, literally a 'bringing together' ; hence (1) a Synod or Great Council of Church or State ; (2) an Assembly (Gr. *σύναξις*) of holy persons joining in praise round Our Lady, an Archangel, &c. ; (3) a service

conducted by several clergy ; (4) a Collegiate Church and so the principal churches of towns or monasteries, but not a Bishop's seat, e. g. the five Sobors in the Kremlin at Moscow, the little ancient church of *Spas na Ború* (Our Saviour in the Pine-wood), the Great *Uspénski Sobor* (Dormition), *Blagovêshchenski* (Annunciation), *Arkhangelski* with the graves of the old Tsars, and *Voznesénski* (Ascension) with the graves of the Tsaritsas.

Olénin, and Evgéni Bolkhovítinov, Metropolitan of Kiev, began to collect the literary memorials of ancient Russia, chronicles and charters, and also encouraged the making of archaeological surveys of ancient monasteries and churches, but the icons that attracted most attention, and this chiefly from the historical side, were those famous for working miracles.

In the twenties and thirties the number of antiquaries and collectors increased and the foundations of historical museums of Russian antiquities were laid. A great collector of MSS. and icons was the historian M. P. Pogódin. The documentary side of Russian historical scholarship was encouraged by the Moscow Historical and Antiquarian Society founded in 1806. It was thus upon this documentary side that all I. M. Snegirév's work upon the history of the churches and monasteries of Moscow was based.¹

On the other hand the chief stimulus to the archaeology of objects was given by the inauguration in St. Petersburg of the Russian Archaeological Society in 1846.²

It was this atmosphere which trained for their heroic searches after Russian and Christian antiquities the famous Bishop Porfíri Uspénski, who discovered and collected the most ancient known icons from the Greek East, V. A. Prókhorov, who increased the Collection of Russian Antiquities in the Academy of Fine Arts, and I. P. Sákharov, who embarked upon a large-scale *Enquiry into Russian Icon-painting* but was only able to produce a few fragments. The famous I. E. Zabêlin in his *The Manner of Life of the Russian Tsars and Tsaritsas* made accessible the main written sources for the archaeology of objects, and was the first to publish *Materials for a History of Russian Icon-painting*.³

In the sixties the chief authorities on Russian icon-painting were G. D. Filimónov and D. A. Rovínski, natives of Moscow and pupils of the Moscow and Suzdal' icon-painters. Filimónov was cautious

¹ *Otéchestvenniya Dostopámyatnosti* (Memorials of the Fatherland), 1823-4; I. Snegirév and Martýnov, *Pámyatniki drévnnyago Khudózhestva v Rossii* (Monuments of ancient Art in Russia), 1850 (two icons); *Drévnosti Rossíyskago Gosudárstva* (Antiquités de l'Empire Russe), 1849-53 (ten icons); I. Snegirév, *Pámyatniki Moskóvskikh Drévnostey* (Monuments of Moscow Antiquities), 1841-2 (five icons); K. Tromónin, *Dostopámyatnosti Moskvý* (Memorials of Moscow), 1834; A. L. Vel'tman, same title, 1848; Evgeni [Bolkhovítinov],

Kíevo-Pechérskaya Láavra. Kíevo-Softýski Sobór; for his works see E. Shmúrlo, *The Metropolitan Evgeni as a Scholar*, P. 1888; M. Pogodin, 'The Fate of Archaeology in Russia', *Journ. Min. Publ. Instr.*, 1869, No. 9.

² N. I. Veselóvski, *Istóriya Imperátorskago Rússkago Arkheologicheskago Óbshchestva* (Society), P. 1900.

³ *Byt Rússkikh Tsarév i Tsarits*, M. 1872, 2nd ed. 1915: *Materialy dlya Istórii Rússkago Ikonopísániya po arkhivnym dokúmentam*.

in his work and left no general study of icons, only a biography of Simon Ushakov (M. 1873), the text of an interesting *Pódlinnik*,¹ and an account of an excursion to the icon-painting villages. Rovinski attacked the matter more boldly and produced a short *History of the Russian Schools of Icon-painting down to the end of the XVIIth century*.² The actual history takes about ten pages, next come twenty pages describing the characteristics of the different schools (*pis'mó*) Novgorod, Moscow, and Stróganov, each divided into three manners, Early or First, Second, and Third, and then extracts from records as to the Tsar's household or court icon-painters in the seventeenth century, a list of the seventeenth-century artists and their works, an explanation of the technical procedure, with extracts from painters' guides, an index of documents, and a list of Russian icon-painters. Thanks to this latter part Rovinski's book remains to this day the source of most people's knowledge of Russian icon-painting, as of course Filimonov's little articles on Mstëra and Palëkh were incomplete and soon forgotten.

On this same basis of records rather than stylistic criticism, remained the accounts of church antiquities at Novgorod and Nízхни Nóvgorod, published by Bishop Macarius in the fifties and sixties, the archaeological surveys of the churches, treasuries, museums, and collections of Moscow, Suzdal', Novgorod, and Pskov,³ the editions of painters' guides with full descriptions (*Tolkóvy Pódlinnik*),⁴ and various local articles and notes.⁵

F. I. Busláev, the famous Moscow scholar, ranked for scientific method with any one in Europe, and by his investigations put the study of the Russian language, literature, and early art upon a sound historical basis. He insisted upon age-long tradition as being at the

¹ G. D. Filimonov, *Description of the Contents of the Korobánov Museum*, M. 1849. A *Pódlinnik* is a guide to iconography describing fully how a scene or person is to be represented; if illustrated, it is called *Litsevóy Pódlinnik*.

² *Zapiski* (Transactions) *Imp. Arkh. Obshch.* (Soc.), viii (1856), pp. 1-196: re-issued by A. S. Suvórin, P. 1901.

³ Bp. Sávvá, *Guide (Ukazátel') to the Patriarchal Treasury*, 1855; A. L. Vel'tman, *Description of the Armoury (Oruzhéynaya Paláta)* [in the Kremlin]; G. D. Filimónov, *Description of the same with Photographic Illustrations*; Bp. Amphilo-chius, *Photographs of the Treasury of the Tróitse-Sérgieva Lávra*, with text.

⁴ *Stróganov Icon-painters' Guide*, publ. by the Moscow Museum for Arts and Crafts, M. 1869: V. Prókhov, *Litsevóy Pódlinnik*, M. 1872; *Icon-painters' Guide, Novgorod Version*, M. 1874.

⁵ Particularly good are those printed by the Súzdal' antiquary I. A. Golyshëv at his own press. For Suzdal' see also works by V. T. Geórgievski, 'Icon-painters of Súzdal'', *Rússkoe Obozrénie* (Russian Review), 1895; 'Description of the Monastery of Our Lady's Protection (*Pokróv*) at Súzdal' built in 1651' (*Trans. (Trudy) Vladimir Record Commission*, v); 'Description of the Monastery of the Deposition of Our Lady's Garment (*Rizopolozhénie*)': *ib.* i, ii.

back of Byzantine art even in its most flourishing times and as specially distinguishing ancient Russian art.¹

Count A. S. Uvárov dealt with the antiquities of Russia with similar breadth; he himself catalogued his very rich and varied collections at Porêch'e² and put together a guide to iconography. However, until the end of the century the study of icon-painting remained in the rudimentary condition in which Rovinski and Busláev left it: people took an interest in it, distinguished different manners in the seventeenth century, tried to guess at the sixteenth-century schools by the study of Novgorod work, but the older icon-painting remained even for the best skilled icon-painters a *terra incognita*.

Meanwhile collections grew in number, one after another, some all embracing, others models of selection; we may note those of Soldátenkov, Strêlkóv, Rakhmánov, Pryánishnikov², N. M. Póstnikov, E. Sorókin (given to the Kiev Seminary), E. E. Egórov², N. P. Likhachëv (first rate), I. S. Ostroúkhov (carefully selected), S. P. Ryabushínski (full of special rarities), P. I. Kharitónenko (detailed), A. V. Morózov² (rare Novgorod icons), V. I. Khanénko (Novgorod and Italo-Cretan, at Kiev). Such a growth of material calls upon us to make a first attempt to set the Russian icon on an historical basis.

The call comes most insistently from the sacristies and treasuries of cathedrals and monasteries at Novgorod and Pskov, Moscow, Suzdal', Yaroslávl', Rostóv and Kostromá, Nízhi Nóvgorod and Románov-Borisoglêbsk, from the museums with collections of icons at Novgorod and Moscow, Rostov and Yaroslavl', Vólogda and Ustyúg, Kíev and Smolénsk, the Lavras of Tróitse-Sérgievo and Alexander Névski, the monasteries of Kiríll-Bêlozérski and Solovétsk. A good starting-place is offered by the icon department of the Russian Museum in Petersburg containing over 3,000 icons mainly derived from the Academy of Arts and from N. P. Likhachëv.³ Historical analysis is the natural result of cleaning the icons; this has just begun and special attention is paid to it. After much labour and minute care the dark and smoke-begrimed icon reveals bright colours and harmonious shades. Now that they have been cleaned the decorative beauty of the big icons in the Russian Museum is so attractive that the neighbouring galleries of modern pictures with their general effect of grey colouring look pale and depressing. Formerly the walls

¹ *Istortcheskiye Ócherki Rússkoy Narodnoy Slovésnosti i Iskússtva* (Historical Outlines of Russian Popular Literature and Art), P. 1861.

² Now in the Historical Museum, Moscow.

³ N. P. Likhachëv's magnificent plates of many hundred icons, having no explanatory catalogue or indication of date, form indeed but *Materials for the History of Russian Icon-painting*, P. 1906.

of this Museum and the great screen of the Uspénski (Assumption) Cathedral at Moscow had nothing to offer but what Búnin calls 'icons, black planks, poor symbols of God's might'. Now out of the black planks we have restored pictures which attract the eye by their patches of bright colour and by the charm of their delicate half-tones. This show-side of the newly cleaned icons in the museums and private collections attracted the attention of the press, which was carried away by aesthetic enthusiasm and rated them much too high. Magazine writers disregarded the historical side of the matter and glorified the newly discovered 'great, inspired and magnificent art', 'an enormous addition to the world's stock of artistic treasures'; fancy divorced from criticism found in icon-painting 'a free idealism' which was supposed 'to know neither space nor time, living amid unknown mountains and plains, essentially cut off by a great gulf from history, literature, nature herself and life'. To counteract these extravagances there was imperative need for a critical estimate of select examples, a definite course of investigation, and a practical application of scientific method guided by comparison and historical classification.

An opportunity for this was afforded by the enlightened action of the See of Novgorod. On the spot in the diocesan museum and in the church of SS. Peter and Paul¹ it was found possible to clean the most ancient Novgorod icons, and this gave a real basis for investigating the history of icon-painting in the Novgorod period. This investigation, joined with that of the Greek models, made it possible to confute the view that tradition was immovable.²

The Russian icon of course began by imitating the Greek model, but this model was not always accessible (e. g. in Novgorod) and besides began itself to change: the Greek or purely Byzantine style gave way to the Greco-Oriental, this to the Greco-Italian, and finally to the Neo-Greek style. So the Russian icon lived by tradition, mainly because it was satisfied with being a craft without pretending to creativeness, but it adopted one tradition after another following each new pattern. The fact is that the Greek icon for all its changes equally kept to tradition because it likewise was a mere handicraft.

But as a craft the Russian icon threw up real talents and they made use either of their own personal creativeness or else adapted new examples and types. These talents at once found pupils, forming

¹ For this church see P. Gusev in *Trans. XV (Novgorod, 1911) R. Archaeological Congress*, ii, pp. 138-50, Pl. I-VI, M. 1916.

² Newly cleaned icons: A. I. Anísimov, *The Icon of S. Theodore Stratelates in his Church at Novgorod, 1922*; and *The Icon of Our Lady of Vladimir in the Cathedral of the Assumption at Moscow*, in preparation.

and developing schools of craftsmen who spread abroad their style and manner : the main reason why they were successful was because they did not violate tradition but aimed at an improved execution of an inherited model. The process of perfecting the form brought with it a national remodelling of the foreign original, and side by side with this a new spiritual content expressing itself in the improved form and due to personal feeling. But any new contribution was typically Russian and so easily accepted. Accordingly the processes of artistic creation in Russia were such that we can lay bare the actual mechanism by which it lived and changed. Artistic phenomena may have been simpler with us than abroad, but the area over which their development went on was very wide, comprising the lands of Novgorod, Pskov, Tver', Vólogda and all the north, besides Suzdal' and Moscow : it was a civilizing work which spread over all Muscovite Russia, the most advanced part of the eastern European plains. The development of artistic form in drawing and colouring must not take up all our attention to the neglect of the content, both on the religious side, the choice and invention of the theme or subject and its composition, and also on the side touching material life, the store of types, their setting, buildings, landscapes, clothing and vestments, and everything which is meant by iconography. Then we shall see that though ancient Russia was divided from western Europe by the great gulf which looks insuperable to the eye of the political historian from the time of the Mongol invasion, we can observe in Russian icon-painting essentially the same movement as that which was going on in the West ; but here its greater force and brilliancy led up to the general achievement of Europe in the so-called Renaissance. In Russian icon-painting we shall see from the end of the fourteenth century a change in direction turning the iconographic tradition towards feeling and expression : this break both enlivens the form and also changes the religious idea expressed by the icon ; instead of the Byzantine dogma we have religious life, drawing man near to God. At the same time the types change from Greek to Russian and the iconographic scheme is enriched with subsidiary groups and more elaborate setting : it wakes up, loses its deadness, and becomes alive and picturesque. We shall see later that the more perfect icon-paintings of the Novgorod and Moscow schools in the sixteenth century answer in their complicated composition, theological subjects, and comparatively severe and correct drawing to the full Renaissance in Italy. The natural inference is that, besides the historical parallelism between the two arts, we have to reckon with the direct influence of foreign, mostly Italian, examples and also

of artists coming if not from Italy then from the Greek East, subject since the fifteenth century to the artistic influence of Italy.

My long-continued study of the iconography of Our Lady in Byzantium, in western Europe, and in Russia, led me to the discovery that many ancient and even wonder-working icons of Our Lady now cherished and revered in Russia have their prototypes and patterns in Greco-Italian icons of the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries.¹ The characteristic style of these icons was already in the fifteenth century dominant in wall-painting, and became the model for icon-painting first at Suzdal', then at Novgorod, and finally all over Russia: but its influence was weaker in the Novgorod school, which early lost the Byzantine manner and refinement. This style even received the honourable name of 'Greek' as against the 'Frankish' (*Fryázhski*) style, a mixture of late Greek and Western art. This streak of foreign influence, enlivening the decadence of the Byzantine scheme and meeting the spiritual demands of the nation, runs so clearly through the whole domain of Russian icon-painting that it is just the path which was wanted to lead us through its *terra incognita*. It gives us a definite historical landmark which enables us more or less to take our bearings and, the great thing, to get away from that domination of the mere *ipse dixit* which marks both barbarism and superficial aesthetic criticism.²

Modern aestheticism in Russia, speaking by dilettanti and journalists, hastened to declare the Russian icon to be 'great art', the discovery of which would astonish Europe and which would claim a place as a 'new world-treasure'.³

According to these people the Russian icon may no doubt repeat the Byzantine composition but it saves its 'creativity' by artistic reproduction of it: the icon has 'style', which, they hold, is wanting in Italian art of the same date, so the latter sinks into a 'provincial art'. According to them the part played by the *Pódlinniki* with models for icon-painting is very much exaggerated, the idea being that the brilliant period of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries had

¹ N. P. Kondakov, *Iconography of the B. V. M. : Connexions*, P. 1910.

² N. P. Likhachëv, *Istorticheskoe Znachenie Italo-grécheskoy Íkonopisi* (Hist. Significance of Italo-Greek Icon-painting), P. 1911, takes the same line.

³ P. Murátov, 'History of Painting, I. Introduction to the History of Old Russian Painting, II. Origin of Old Russian Painting', in vol. vi of I. Grabar', *History of*

Russian Art, M. 1909-. He regards both Italy and Russia as learning side by side from the late Byzantine revival seen at Kahrie Djámi and Mistra. The illustrations to this book, including many Moscow icons, make a most valuable supplement to our selection: so do the more accessible Réau and Halle mostly founded upon it. E. H. M.

no such thing as *perevódy*, that is, as it were, stencils for tracing icons, nor yet foreign models. The style of the Russian icon is supposed to be without expression and without narrative; it is not tied to life and to its reality; it is a 'pure art'. Its types are in themselves national and though the Russian figure of Christ is of a foreign type, still they hold that it contains a 'Russian soul'. The Russian icon is made out to be 'aristocratic'; its 'idealism is immovable' and 'open to the contemplation of miracle'. Everything in an icon is ideal; even the buildings and hills offer an 'imaginary world', with types 'imponderable', 'fined away in their idealism'. The worship of a sacred art devoted to icons always kept its hold on Russia and pointed to the East not to the West. In this art the line, the design are ruled by tradition; the colours, their selection and blending belong to the individual; according to their special prescriptions we distinguish the different schools. The bright colour of Russian icons and the striking beauty of the combinations of shades are, take it all in all, the strength of the Russian icon.

To show that this aesthetic theory is absolutely wanting in any scientific consistency or philosophical content there is no need to analyse it as a whole or in detail: it is sufficient to confront it with a statement founded upon history and an analysis of the facts.

I

ORIGINS. THE ORIENT AND GREECE

THE history of the Russian icon must begin with its original sources, its most ancient prototype. As we shall see below, the Byzantine icon, the model which the Russians took over with Christianity, has left very few examples surviving and so, having lost its own history, it can scarcely furnish a basis for the history of the Russian icon. The more so that ancient Kiev rarely received its icons directly from Byzance itself, with which it often lost touch owing to the Nomad barrier. To Kiev things came mainly from Chersonesus Taurica: we find both at Chersonesus and at Kiev identical objects of the tenth to twelfth centuries, bronze crosses, coloured tiles, glazed pottery, and the like.¹

Chersonesus, a great commercial city, supplied ancient Russia with all kinds of manufactures from Asia Minor exported through Sinope and Trebizond. Now the Grecian East was the true home of the icon; it arose there in the fourth century and spread abroad in the fifth. Fathers of the Church such as S. John Chrysostom or Gregory of Nysa already knew of it as a usual adjunct of the Christian faith. The icon was nothing new; it was born among the ordinary panel portraits of martyrs and confessors which were executed by the encaustic or wax process and laid either upon the coffins and sarcophagi or else upon definite shrines in *martyria* or *memoriae*.² When such palpable honour done to the martyr's memory was rendered to his portrait, εἰκών, it gave the wooden panel the sacred significance of the honoured *icon*.³

This most ancient stage of the icon's history is itself connected with the primitive custom by which the ancient Egyptians prepared painted portraits of the dead and laid them so that they showed from underneath the mummy bands. In the early centuries of our

¹ E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 538, quoting Kondakov, *Russian Hoards*, pp. 33 sqq.

² Ch. Diehl, *Manuel d'Art Byzantin*, Paris, 1925, p. 85, f. 28.

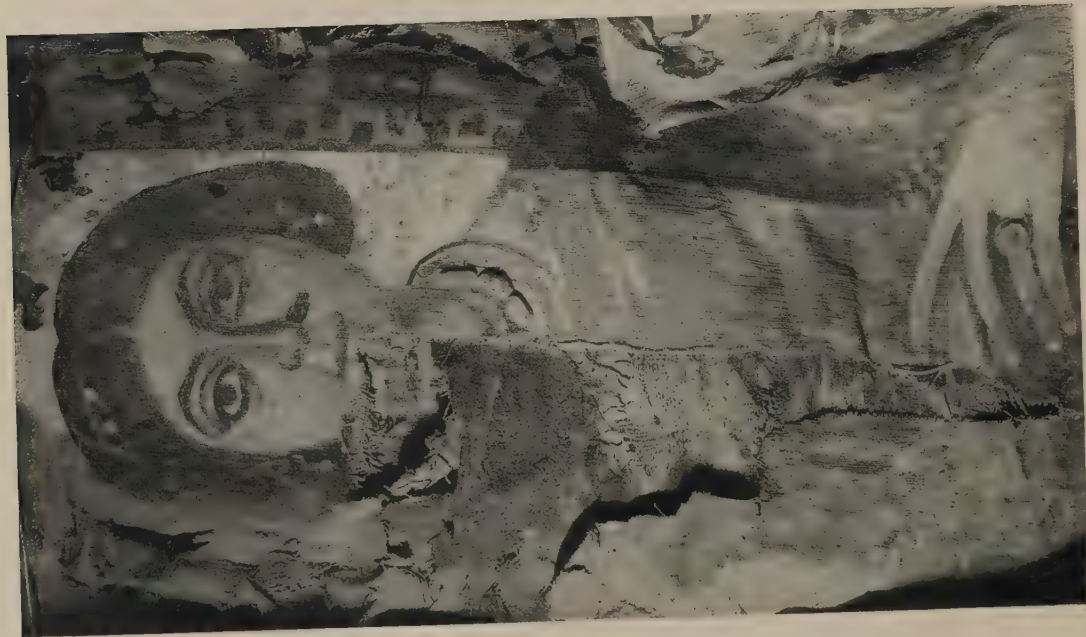
³ I write the word *icon* as the accepted transliteration of εἰκών: the genitive

εἰκόνης has in modern Greek produced an ordinary feminine nominative, εἰκόνα, and this form passed into Russian as *ikóna*: Russian has also translated it as *óbráz*, which we can only render by 'image', but this in English does not readily suggest a flat representation.

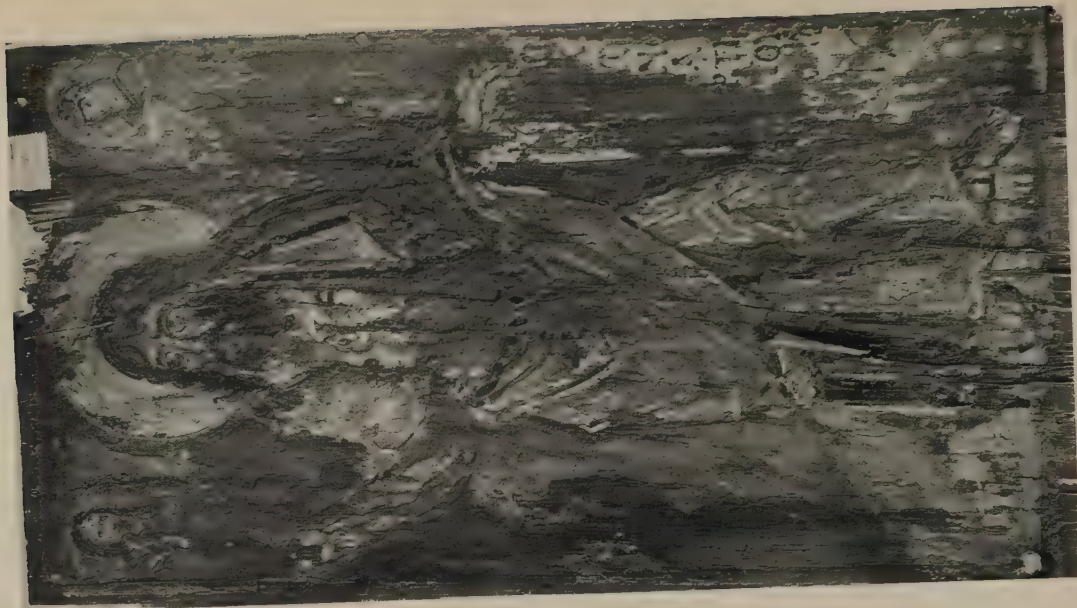
era the Alexandrian school of painting had reached sufficient artistic perfection to allow of the existence of many artistic firms ready to produce quickly and cheaply portraits of the most striking realism. Sir G. Maspéro by scientifically investigating the funeral ceremonial of the Egyptians has got right to the bottom of these rites and their inner meaning.¹ The Egyptians, when they equipped the dead man for the life beyond the grave, were, thanks to the strength of the priestly code, kept close to primitive materialism and surrounded the 'everlasting' home of the dead man with everything that characterized his life on earth. This was necessitated by their belief that the soul, though it had escaped from the body, was still bound to it by indissoluble ties and needed these make-believe surroundings for its continued existence. Hence they set up stelae with representations of offerings made at the tomb, and of kinsfolk praying that the soul should attain the good things of this world and entrance to the heavenly mansions. The continued preservation of the soul required the continuance of commemorative rites including offerings either real or in substitute and not only these but, as their necessary correlative, there must be present in the tomb the likeness of the dead man, his 'double' or *ka*. According to the sepulchral inscriptions a man at death is divided into body, soul, and the bright essence of the double, which was the link between the corruptible body and the soul. The *ka* is a coloured shadow, a bodiless shape : hence the Egyptians were careful, in case of the mummy's possible destruction, to surround it with statues and statuettes of the dead man and used every means to make them exactly like him. This is the origin of the high level of artistic realism which lies at the base of Egyptian art ; this is what led to their working out such types representing the people of the country, their lives and professions, as astonish us by the life-like way in which they are presented ; this is the reason why the dead are portrayed with their enamel eyes fixed upon their approaching kinsfolk, gazing upon them out of the grave chamber, from the doors or from an opening above the doors.

In the latest period towards the Christian era the exact portrait of the deceased is, as it were, identified with his double (*ka*), took its place in the grave, and retained the powers of a mystic and vivifying image which maintained the link between the departed soul and the deserted body preserved in the form of a mummy. The funeral furnishers enclosed the mummy in a papier-mâché case with a coloured mask of the dead man ; and later substituted for this his portrait

¹ G. Maspéro, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes*, 1893.



I. 1. PORTRAIT FROM ANTINOE
IV cent. Vatican. Page 13



I. 2. S. JOHN THE BAPTIST
Encaustic Icon from Egypt. VI cent. Uspenski Coll., Kiev
Pages 19, 151

in the flat, painted on a separate board either from the life or after death, but with all the features and appearance of life. The board was slipped inside the tight mummy bands over the face : the picture gives sometimes just the head, sometimes the beginnings of the shoulders or the full bust. Cemeteries with such mummies have been found in the sandy shores of dried-up lakes in the Fayum, at Antinoë, and elsewhere, and have yielded whole series of life-like and realistic portraits.¹ Specimens of these may be seen in the National Gallery (e.g. Nos. 1260-2913), the British Museum, the Ashmolean, and the Fitzwilliam. They are done by the encaustic method, that is, by the manipulation of heated coloured wax with a spatula. In these realistic heads we see at once a highly developed technique and journeyman execution. The features are undoubtedly individual, the colours rich and bright, but the touch in the curls is dry though full of character. Round the lady's neck is a fine gold chain with an amulet. The portraits were executed hastily ; the pats of coloured wax have not been thoroughly melted. A typical manner is common to them all, a tendency to make the face look young, to slur over the signs of age and even of full manhood. The eyes are emphasized particularly to produce the illusion of life.²

The wax technique was chosen for the Egyptian portraits because it was the quickest process, but by its nature it demanded great skill in the craftsman and was accordingly expensive. But we also have a whole series of similar portraits executed either in tempera (a mixture of white of egg and lime) or in the regular egg technique with the yolk as medium. Two such in the Russian Museum merely show the heads : they are painted on oblong boards, the width being more than the height. We shall see that the icon of SS. Sergius and Bacchus in Kiev Theological Academy is of this shape, so too are the icons represented in paintings and suchlike ; they all reproduce the type of long-shaped icon laid upon a coffin or sarcophagus. These very ancient examples show the same manner of working as is still practised by Russian icon-painters. The ground colour is a dark brown, upon this the features are painted first in reddish ochre and then in light brown, so that the ground colour gives the shading and finally the lighted planes (*modelé*) and the high lights

¹ Pl. I. 1 is a very late example : it may even date from Christian times.

² W. Grüneisen, 'The Illusionist Portrait', *Sofia* (a Russian Art magazine), No. 4, 1914 ; Graul, *Die antike Porträtmalerei aus den Grabstätten des Fayum*, Leipzig, 1888 ; G. Ebers, *Eine Galerie*

antiker Porträts, Berlin, 1889 ; U. Wilcken, 'Die Hellenistische Porträts aus El Fayum', *Arch. Anzeiger.*, iv, 1889 ; Girard, *Peinture Antique*, Paris, 1892, pp. 249 sqq. ; Th. Graf, *Collection de Portraits Antiques de l'Époque Grecque en Égypte*, Vienna, n. d. ; P. Buberl, *Gr.-Äg. Mumienbildnisse*, ib. 1922.

are done in ochre mixed with white lead or in pure white lead. These high lights are just what we find in the work of the Russian icon-painters, who call them *blik* (German *Blick*), *ozhivka* (from *ozhivat'* to enliven), or *dvizhka* (from *dvigat'* to move); the French is *rehaut*, *reflet*, *lumière* (see p. 53).

In the faces the eyes are rendered with special emphasis and force, first by a deep shaded orbit and next by the bold relief of the forehead, brows, eyelids and thick lashes, and finally by putting in the pupil and the shining point in it (*svêtik* = little light). Characteristic of an icon is it that it should give no more than the bust of the saint, but that the clothing of this, though showing no more than the shoulders, should indicate his calling in life, especially in the case of a priest, bishop, or patriarch. Russian icon-painters use the term *ikóna opléchnaya* (to the shoulders) as distinct from *golovnaya* (head), *pogrudnaya* (bust to the breast), and *stoyáchaya* (standing, full length).

Another point about an icon is that it always gives the picture of the Saviour (*Spas*), Our Lady, or of some other saint, as facing the worshipper, just as the painted portrait of the dead Egyptian was to look at his kinsfolk who were supposed to come to the reception-room of his resting place, or to the spot where in the form of his swathed mummy he was buried in the sand. Representations of saints in profile were only to be found on small icons which were hung on to the saint's big icon as votive reminders of a worshipper; or else they only came in with later times.

Finally, the original type of the Egyptian portrait shows up with special clearness in the colouring of the icon, more particularly in that of the Russian icon: icons from Greece proper and other varieties frequently diverge from the early type. The reason for this is that the Russian icon from first to last drew its inspiration from Greco-Oriental models, these models coming at first from Egypt and Syria and later from Asia Minor which had early adopted the Greco-Oriental style. The Syro-Egyptian style was marked from the beginning by deep, rich, warm, and at the same time most artistic colouring; on the one hand this reproduced the rich colouring of the Nile valley, on the other it reached the perfect ideal of a rich and deep colour-scale. This colouring reproduces both the hot, pallid buff of the desert sky during the burning *Khamsin*, and the glorious contrast of the dark lilac, velvety chocolate, and reddish-brown mountains amid the buff sand of the desert. From this came the tones that run through Egyptian dress decorated in dark lilac and chocolate brown on a ground of buff unbleached linen, and through the simple scale of Egyptian wall-paintings with brown and

lilac on a buff ground. We find the same thing in the Ravenna mosaics : here the figures of holy men and women are almost without exception in pale buff with lilac adornments of clothes and insignia upon a dark blue ground.

Now we shall see later that the icons which bear in Russian tradition the name of *Korsún* are all of them distinguished by a scale of dark chocolate or brown upon a buff ground and these *Korsun* icons which came to Russia from Chersonesus Taurica, Caffa, and Trebizond were copies of Greco-Oriental icons. Ever so much more important is it, that by setting out a series of icons we can show how the early Venetian icon-painting with its rich and deep colouring, dark purple, dark lilac, dark green, rich blue, and dark brown or chocolate, was derived from the Greco-Oriental models. The pictures of Bellini owed their tonality to this as well as to the colouring of the Venetian lagoons on a summer evening. So also Rembrandt makes his figures stand out against the warm darkness of a Dutch room deepened and illuminated by a single window, or we see in the later portraits of Franz Hals or in the paintings of Caravaggio a sharp contrast, low brown tones or rich darkness and in striking relief against this bright planes and high lights of an almost ghostly whiteness. This means that great painters arrive at a consummate chiaroscuro, almost eliminate true colour, and only make use of an endless gradation of tones, and it turns out that this tonality was already in use in the earliest icon-painting.

This is the place to emphasize the fact that it was only the use of a chiaroscuro almost excluding colour which led in the case of certain iconic types to an unearthly paleness. Upon this paleness the aesthetic enthusiasts for icons have seized to support their view that the fundamental aim of the icon is to express the incorporeality of the saints in their orders. The fact is that the Syro-Egyptian type in its historical form was in existence in Russia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was embodied in the icons of S. Nicholas the Wonderworker and S. John the Forerunner as rendered in certain severe styles, but was a thing merely temporary, and in no way to be taken as determinative for the majority of schools or for other periods. The essence of the icon consists in the traditional striving after *strong relief* : from this proceeded, as we shall see, the system of lighted planes in Byzantine and Russian icon-painting. The yolk of egg medium particularly lends itself to the system of laying one coat upon another each made lighter than the last by the admixture of white lead with the ochre. It also gives full value to the pure and bright colours of the pigments : in this it differs much from

the Western tempera (white of egg medium) which inevitably gives a dead tint to the flesh.

At its point of departure the icon derived both from a higher artistic portrait and from a more artistic technique, for the encaustic process demanded at once a skilled and practised craftsman and an artist of advanced talent. But of course it could not for ever remain at that level. This was rendered definitely impossible by the transference of the craft to a fresh nation and the lack of models. The transfer of the icon from Syria and Egypt to Greece and Byzantium made a striking difference in its characteristic features, much more so when it came to Russia.

A rich reddish ochre, a warm brown, brick-red, and black—such were the colours of the Egyptian craft working upon wood. On this ground were added dark green, indigo, and deep lilac. Such is the colouring of the Greco-Oriental mosaics so far known to us, those in Cyprus, Ravenna, and some of those in Rome and of the Greco-Oriental icons. Quite different, incomparably brighter, is the decorative colouring of the wall-paintings and mosaics of Constantinople, the true Byzantine style.¹ Accordingly the Byzantine icon also departs a long way from the Greco-Oriental colouring and adopts the bright tones of miniatures and frescoes. The same was the case at Novgorod where the Greco-Oriental originals passed away and gave place to others, so that the icon-painters, left without models and painting iconostases, went over to a bright style of painting. In such cases a most characteristic feature is the predominance of so-called folk-colours, bright red (vermilion) and light green.

Such are the points in which an icon resembles a portrait. What are the fundamental differences? The icon of a saint differs from his portrait in being its mere copy or replica for which a general resemblance is sufficient; it keeps the general type of his face, his distinguishing marks, his character, but as it is a mere journeyman's copy it cannot give the refinements of individual features. The face of S. John the Baptist is always typical, but in it there is no individuality, so too in the faces of Our Lady and the other saints. Still we can follow up and see how far icons derive as a matter of fact from individual (though not artistic) portraits. There is, for instance, Nicetas (Nikíta), Bishop of Novgorod (*d. A. D. 1108*), recognized by the Russian Church as a holy Confessor and Wonderworker in 1558. The Novgorod Chronicle has preserved a curious report sent from Novgorod to Moscow of how in 1558 Poemen the Archbishop of

¹ By 'Byzantine' the author generally 'truly Greek', but sometimes he falls into means 'Constantinopolitan', or at least the ordinary vague use of the term.



II. 1. S. NICETAS, BISHOP OF NOVGOROD
XV cent.



II. 2. S. NICETAS, BISHOP OF NOVGOROD
XVII cent.

Novgorod saw in a dream the holy Nicetas lying 'in his flesh'¹ and announced this vision to the Tsar and to Macarius the Metropolitan of Moscow, and how Poemen received a command to take out the relics of the saint and lay them in a new shrine, and hold a festival. So the discovery of the relics was made, and for many days there went on the singing of services by many clergy and great feasting in the archbishop's palace, and the archbishop himself laboured in preparing the feasts. Now though Bishop Nicetas died in A. D. 1108, 450 years previously, there was found a portrait of him upon paper already existing, but at Novgorod they did not venture to make an icon after it but sent it to Moscow, whither Macarius, when he left Novgorod, had transferred the icon-painters' shops. The report from Novgorod stated that Nicetas had a very small beard both in life and as shown by his body discovered in his coffin: the portrait was very possibly genuine. Such portraits were often circulated long before canonization and usually very soon after the death of a man who during his lifetime was reckoned 'a saint of God'. Such a man was Nicetas, who towards the end of his life was almost immured as an anchorite, or Seraphim of Sarovsk in recent times.

There are two icons of Nicetas in the Russian Museum: one in the Novgorod manner of the fifteenth century shows a dried up ascetic, but with a piercing glance that becomes an active head of the Church in his city (Pl. II. 1: inscr. *O A[gios] Nikita Episkop*); the other, in the Moscow manner of the seventeenth century, evidently made up from the painters' guide, shows him beardless almost after the Roman Catholic fashion (Pl. II. 2: similar inscription).

The iconic type is also subject to history as having different characteristics at different times. The Greco-Oriental icon gives us real or realistic types, whereas the Byzantine, that is, the purely Greek type, through its connexion with the idealistic Greek sculpture of the latest period and with Byzantine illuminated MSS., exchanges the realist principle for a generalized ideal model. We must not forget that the source of the icon is in a characteristic style adapted to the representation of departed relatives. Hence the general outline of the portrait, its impressionism in pose, its deep and thoughtful glance, turned downwards or to the side, the slightly drooping eyelids, the majestic restfulness, and a certain retirement from the outer world. All this was taken over in the icon and served as a foundation for the ideal features of Our Saviour, Our Lady, S. Nicholas, and

¹ One of the conditions of canonization is that a saint's body should be discovered uncorrupted.

suchlike, being really a very ancient heritage from the severe religious art of Egypt. But as Byzantine icon-painting was practised from the ninth century as a mere journeyman's craft, only the general scheme or type of the icon was within its reach, and it was in this shape that it spread to Russia, Georgia, Armenia, the Balkans, all south-eastern Europe, and Italy. Then later in each of these countries, under the influence of the efforts made by native craftsmen, this iconic scheme changes, comes to life, and likewise degenerates and loses its character.

When the pictured portrait of a saint became an icon the position it took was that of a *devotional* icon (*molennaya* from *molit'sya* to pray), that voiceless friend in the faith to whom people turned with their prayer, as it were entrusting their prayer to him. As they prayed they made the sign of the cross upon the breast and kissed the icon and this became the regular practice. It was just what was done at the moment of saying farewell to a martyr, when people signed themselves with the cross to signify to all around that they belonged to the Christian community and kissed him (*φιλῆσαι*) by way of farewell to the dead brother in the faith.

The Church accepted the use of the icon as a pious popular custom which helped faith and gave it general support among the people, and she allowed the icon to establish itself and spread, like some other like customs, uncontrolled. At the beginning of the fifth century the icon made its appearance in church, first of all, of course, in the *martyria*, the burial places of saints (*memoriae*) of which there were many in Egypt, Syria, near Tarsus, and elsewhere. Soon the monastic communities began to supply pilgrims with mementoes, pictures of the saints whom they honoured, and representations of holy places which they had visited. Those who were devoted to a high ideal of doctrine, when they came to Jerusalem and saw at the Holy Sepulchre the traffic in icons, little pictures, lamps, ampullae with oil from the holy places, and relics, were indignant at the new idolatry and inconsolably cried out for the cleansing of the faith from superstition.¹ All this arose and developed on soil saturated with survivals of the ancient and the oriental worlds.

The same soil also gave birth to the Festival Icon with representations of those events of the Gospel such as the *Annunciation*, the *Nativity*, the *Baptism of Our Lord*, the *Transfiguration*, and the like.

¹ See the controversy between S. Jerome and the Gaulish pilgrim Vigilantius who vainly tried to protest against the veneration of relics and icons, all-night watchings in

martyria, and suchlike. Migne, *P. L.* xxii, *Ep. Hieronymi*, lxi, *ad Vigilantium*; xxiii, p. 337, *Liber contra Vigilantium*, A. D. 406.

These events began to be celebrated by services first and foremost at the spots whereat they happened. Side by side with the paintings on the church walls on which they were delineated in artistic schemes, icons and portable pictures also bore representations of them, in which the typical characteristics of the place and scene were supplied and the composition itself based upon reality. The pilgrims when they looked at a picture of the *Baptism of Our Lord* were to be reminded of the hilly banks of the Jordan and its swirling water and even of the column crowned with a cross which stood to mark the actual spot, and so the icon made for the pilgrims showed all these details. So too icons of the *Nativity of Our Lord* would show the hills of Bethlehem, the cave, and the manger, or the *Crucifixion* would have the walls of Jerusalem in the background.¹ The reader's attention is called to two remarkable examples of pilgrims' icons, both of the sixth century, brought from Sinai or Egypt by Bishop Porfiri Uspenski and now in the Museum of the Theological Academy, Kiev.²

The first, executed by the encaustic process, represents *S. John the Baptist*, full length, standing before the people and preaching with his right hand raised and in his left a scroll with his words 'Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world'.³ It is clear that this icon gives us the figure of the last of the prophets as part of the old composition of which the prophets form part in MSS. on each side of events of the Gospels, as it were on the upper galleries of churches (*chori*), displaying to the people open scrolls with their characteristic prophecies. But how full of character is this figure of S. John, like none other in the history of art. In it we see the clumsy ascetic or anchorite whose thick locks of long hair and matted beard have never been touched by the comb: his body and extremities are heavy and massive, his face of a coarse reddish colour, his glance hazy yet fixed. This is the coarsely realistic type of the ascetic: such were the men who made up the mass of Syro-Egyptian monkery, gained command of the Byzantine world, and finally transformed Hellenistic art. We find this type again in a miniature of the famous MS. of Cosmas Indicopleustes which groups S. John the Baptist with Our Lord and His Apostles. Our icon has in its upper corners small medallions with the heads of Our Lord

¹ Kondakov, *Iconography B. V. M.*, i (1914), pp. 131-5, 153-8. Wulff, *Altchristl. u. Byz. Kunst*, p. 308; Wulff-Alpatoff, *passim*.

² Now safely housed in the Pecherskaya Lavra. To the references in Dalton, *Byz. Art*, p. 317, n. 1, add: N. I. Petróv, *Album... of the Museum* . . . Kiev, Pt. I, 1912; O.

³ Pl. I. 2. +Ε[ΙΔΕ]Ο[ΑΜ][ΝΟ]C[ΤΩ][Θ]Υ
Ο[ΑΙΡΩ]Ν[ΤΗΝ]Α[ΜΑ]ΡΤΙ[ΑΝ]ΤΟΥΚΩ
CΜΩ. Kondakov, *Monuments of Christian Art on Mt. Athos* (1902), Pl. XLIX.

in an early type and of Our Lady. It is executed on a thin board about 10 inches (25 cm.) high: the work is hasty, but skilful and bold.

Another of Bishop Porphyry's gifts to the Kiev Museum is an icon of *Our Lady* of the sixth or even the fifth century, the oldest icon known, certainly the oldest of Our Lady. Here again we have the wax technique, and the way the board is cut off at the top angles is particularly like the shape of the mummy portraits.¹

Still more remarkable is a series of icons painted on the lid of a wooden box of the sixth century from the Lateran treasure now in the Vatican.² The box is about 8 inches (20 cm.) long, shallow, and filled with a mass of wax and plaster in which are embedded pebbles and other fragments from holy places in Palestine. Five small-scale compositions show the *Ascension* and the *Resurrection* (or rather the *Women at the Sepulchre*) above, the *Crucifixion* across the middle, and below the *Nativity* and the *Baptism*. In this order the pilgrim had visited the holy places: the church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, the church of the Resurrection, the church of Golgotha in Jerusalem, the cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem, and the banks of the Jordan. Each subject is characteristic both in composition and in the types of the figures, but here we are concerned only with the material setting. The theme of the *Resurrection* is pictured under the form of the approach of the women to the sepulchre (Our Lady hastens thither first of all, in agreement with the Apocrypha current at the time). Accordingly the composition shows us the gates of the small rotunda or cover of Our Lord's sepulchre; this looks from outside like a low octagonal tower crowned by a conical metal roof like a bell-tent, with a cross at the top: the open doors allow us to see an altar with a cross upon it in the front room of the sepulchre, now the chapel of the Angel. The sepulchre is a cave hewn out of the rock. The cover is protected from top to bottom by a grille or trellis. Above the pointed roof hangs (from the ceiling of Constantine's great rotunda, the church of the Anastasis) a circular candelabrum such as used to be called *rota*, later *corona luminis*, a hoop with openings in it to take lamps. To this day the pilgrims take away from Jerusalem as mementoes icons of the Resurrection with a picture of the modern marble canopy which contains the remains of the cave; out of its doors rises Christ flying upwards according to the Catholic representation.

¹ Kondakov, *Athos*, Pl. XLVIII, *Iconogr. B.V.M.*, i (1914), p. 160, f. 90 and Pl. III coloured.

p. 593, f. 279, after Ph. Lauer, 'Le Trésor du Sancta Sanctorum', *Monuments Piot*, xv, 1906, Pl. XIV. 2.

² Pl. III; cf. Diehl, *Manuel de l'Art Byz.*,



III. LID OF A BOX FROM THE LATERAN TREASURE
VI cent. Vatican

The scene of the *Nativity* gives a similar ancient recollection of the cave at Bethlehem, still open and accessible from outside to pilgrims, as it was before Constantine built his great church over it. The cave is a shallow niche hewn in the rock, above it is the star, within is the manger with the Child, at the entrance on the left Mary lies on a mattress, on the right Joseph sits sleepily.

Jesus at his *Baptism* is figured as a child standing in the water up to his neck. John puts his hand upon him, two disciples stand behind, on the right are two Angels offering towels and above the hand of God sending down the Dove. This is a very ancient composition, as are those of the *Ascension* and of the *Crucifixion*, with the two thieves (youthful) and the figure of Christ clothed in the purple robe. This type goes back to the fourth or fifth century.

Other surviving icons point to the Syro-Egyptian origins of this kind of painting. First we must mention the well-known tradition of the *Vernicle*, the napkin at Edessa upon which the face of Our Lord was imprinted. We have copies of this under the names of the *Holy Mandylion*,¹ 'The image not made with hands', 'The holy napkin', in wall-paintings from the eleventh or twelfth centuries, and devotional icons of this type are very common in Russia from the fourteenth century. This tradition was clearly founded upon the Egyptian portraits painted upon mummy cloths.

Further we have Bishop Porphyry's *Sergius and Bacchus* of the sixth century,² Egyptian icons and later ones of the Coptic period representing *Our Saviour*, *SS. Luke, Thomas, Cosmas, &c.*, in the Berlin and Russian Museums.³

It is well known that the Byzantine icon, which took its rise in the fifth or sixth centuries, was afterwards brought to a sudden stop by the growth in the eighth century of the iconoclastic movement, which exterminated so systematically every production of the Byzantine craft that we can do no more than guess about it and search out traces of the ancient Greco-Oriental originals in the productions of late times. We have no single example of Byzantine icon-painting older than the ninth century. Of course for the purpose of the history of the Russian icon we need not go beyond those later Byzantine examples, Russians would see and copy no icons till the tenth and

¹ *μανδύλιον* is the Latin *mantele*, 'napkin', misspelt to resemble *μανδύας*, a Persian word for 'cloak'. Strictly speaking the Vernicle is the imprint of Our Lord's features on the way to crucifixion, while the Greek napkin shows them yet unmarred (see Pl.

XXIV. 2, XL. 1, 2, 3, LX. 1).

² Kondakov, *Athos*, p. 125, f. 52; Diehl, *Manuel*, p. 229, f. 111.

³ Dalton, *Byz. Art*, 'panel paintings', pp. 316-19; Wulff-Alpatoff, pp. 14-34.

eleventh centuries, but we must not shut our eyes to the changes due to the iconoclastic persecutions.

We have, for instance, during the time of the iconoclasts the curious legend of the 'icon-toys' of the Empress Theodora. To judge by the account of their sizes these were little panels four or six inches long, which could be used by the icon worshippers in secret, so as not to draw upon themselves the persecutions of the iconoclasts. As it were on purpose, fate has preserved for us one of these toys, an icon with the head and bust of S. Stephen the first martyr.¹ It is of the seventh or eighth century, but was half destroyed in ancient times so that of the original painting only the head of the saint remains. In the tenth or eleventh century, after the veneration of icons had been restored, the shoulders were supplied in a different style, and made too large in proportion to the small neat head of the ancient type. There are many other Greek icons of about the same small dimensions as this, but they are all of later date. So, too, miniature Greek triptychs were made for use on journeys or for distribution to pilgrims. Hence it appears that though the iconoclasts caused the other party for a season to hide their icons away in their houses, they did but contribute to the development of the devotional icon.

Iconoclasm was a reaction specially against the spread of the veneration for icons painted upon wood, inasmuch as these, far more than wall-paintings, as it were put the representations of God and the saints into people's hands, making them common objects of their lives. The arguments for it might then have been expected to give us a full account of the development of the painting of icons upon wood. But there was nothing of the kind. They merely tell us of exaggerated cases of icon worship: they called their opponents wood worshippers (*ξύλολάτραι*). The icons had become the objects of superstitious rites; the people had come to adorning them with decorations and with jewels; they were publicly censured in the churches; they were used for the healing of the sick; the sick were led to sleep in their presence and dream under their inspiration, a survival of the pagan *incubatio*. Special icons came into use to celebrate birthdays, weddings, funerals, to give form to vows and to the memory of the dead. If a well dried up, an icon was cast into it: cloths were sanctified by being spread upon an icon, they were given to the godparents at a christening; paint was scraped off an icon and mixed with bread for the Communion; the bread was laid upon an icon and used for the Communion. But besides these accounts of the extremes to

¹ Russian Museum, No. 1810, from the collection of N. P. Likhachëv.

which the venerators of icons went, we get nothing from either the attack or defence save the commonplaces of controversy.¹ The iconoclasts at their council of A.D. 754 gave full expression to their teaching and the accusations they brought: they brought against recent Orthodox practice the accusation of a new idolatry and service of idols, and cited against it all that they could find in the Bible, how that the institution of icons had no justification in the teaching of Christ or his Apostles, nor yet in the tradition of the Fathers: that there did not even exist a form of prayer for consecrating icons: the icon is not to be reconciled with serving God in spirit: the icon can only represent the human nature, it cannot and must not represent the God-man: icon-painters serve the cause of the Arian, Monophysite, Nestorian heresies. There is no ground for representing angels in human form with wings. The Blessed Virgin, the Apostles, Prophets, and Martyrs are capable of representation, but if it is impossible to represent Christ there is no need for these other icons.

When, after the first introduction of the reform, the churches had been purged of icons, the group of iconoclastic theologians and prelates considered that their demands were satisfied: the wooden icons in the churches had been set so high upon the walls that they were out of reach of 'kissing' and suchlike. But the cause of the iconoclasts was closely linked with the problems of another political struggle, that of the army and administration against the monks, their violence and excessive influence upon the affairs of the Empire and great cities. Hence began a cruel and senseless destruction: icons were burnt, or the painting on them burnt off with boiling tar, they were chopped up, MSS. with pictures were destroyed, mosaics sawn off, the libraries of the monasteries destroyed, and all defenders of the veneration of icons subjected to persecution.

Nor do we find in the resolutions of the Orthodox Council of A.D. 787 and in the works of the defenders of icons any definite historical proofs in their favour, only abstract arguments justifying the veneration of icons in principle: icons are no idols, they are venerable as representations of what is holy. Honour paid to an icon is honour to its original. An icon of Christ represents Him in His human nature; those who reject such icons reduce the mystery of the Incarnation

¹ For a summary of the whole controversy see A. I. Dobroklonski, *S. Theodore, Confessor and Abbot of the Studium*, i, pp. 34-47, P. 1913. The orthodox finally laid down that icons were not to receive 'adoration in the proper sense', τὴν ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν, but ἀσπασμὸν καὶ τιμητικὴν προσκύνησιν, 'salutation and worship that expresses honour', i. e. the outer sign of a reverence that could be paid to men.

to a phantom. The icon teaches faith and morals and is a help to those who cannot read. The Church seeks to enlist the sense of sight to make men praise God; the icon helps this state of mind and brings people up in the love of God. There is no prayer for the consecration of an icon, but no more is there for the consecration of a cross. Just as love for our nearest and dearest makes us wish to have their portraits, so it is natural for Christians to have representations of Christ and the saints. The prohibition of idols in the Old Testament had a temporary validity, but the Christian law is to last for ever.

There is just one single historical statement made by the defenders: it concerned the tradition of the Fathers, who undoubtedly speaking by the mouths of S. John Chrysostom and others supported the veneration of icons. The defence adduces no other references to the past save citations of icons working wonders or specially honoured, in a series going back to the fifth century: the reason is that the iconoclasts demanded no historical review of the subject; both sides admitted that the icon had been accepted by the Church in extreme antiquity as a pious popular custom requiring no particular control. Still the really primitive churches either did without representations and had nothing but a cross in the apse, or had only wall-paintings and curtains with figures of the Saviour and the Apostles worked upon them, but no icons.

The position was evidently different by the time when S. John Damascene wrote his three discourses defending the holy icons against those who rejected them.¹ He had to supplement the dogmatic by the historical or practical side of the question. He quotes the evidence of the Fathers in favour of icons, Dionysius the Areopagite, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nysa, John Chrysostom, and ends up with cases of various specially honoured and wonder-working icons revealed in early times. It is fairly clear that it was in iconoclastic times that these specially honoured ancient icons perished. Probably some ancient icons of the Greek Orient have survived but are not yet known to us: of them we do know only one or two, such as the genuine Byzantine Virgin *Hodegetria*, carried off from Constantinople in A.D. 1204 and preserved in S. Mark's at Venice under the name of *Nicopoea*, or the icon of *Our Saviour* in the Lateran Chapel of the *Sancta Sanctorum*.

But the really Byzantine icons even of the tenth to the fifteenth centuries are very few among those of which we have knowledge.

¹ Λόγοι ἀπολογητικοί, Migne, P. G., Creticus, περὶ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων προσκυ-
xciv, pp. 1233-1419. So too Andreas νήσεως, P. G., xcvi, p. 1302.

Such are, in the Vatican, the icon of *S. John Chrysostom* on a twelfth-century reliquary of the cross from the Lateran treasure,¹ and a few small icons of the fourteenth century in the Vatican Pinacotheca : in the Pisa Gallery an icon of the *Archangel Michael* ; at Rome the famous *Hodegetria* in a chapel of S. Maria Maggiore ; at Bologna in a church just outside the city another miraculous icon of *Our Lady*, late twelfth century. The other ancient icons venerated and preserved in various churches and monasteries of Rome, Venice, Bologna, Florence, Naples, Messina, Palermo, do not belong to the true Byzantine style and are mostly Italo-Cretan work of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.

According to this it is by a rare chance that we have several Byzantine icons preserved at Novgorod : an icon of *SS. Peter and Paul* in the cathedral of S. Sophia ; two of the *Annunciation*, one in the monastery of S. Anthony the Roman and one in the church of *SS. Boris and Glêb* ; and one of *S. George* in the monastery of S. George (Yur'ev), (for these see p. 68). [To Vladîmir on the Klyáz'ma not only *Our Lady of Bogolyúbov* (see p. 62) but, as we now know, her sister of Vladîmir herself (see p. 39) was certainly brought from Constantinople in the twelfth century.] But even in Russia the greater number of early icons are only Greek, not truly Byzantine : they go back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and were painted in the Greek Orient. There are some actual Byzantine icons in the Russian Museum and they may serve as a foundation for the study of the Byzantine style.²

Such, for instance, is the remarkable icon of *S. Gregory Thaumaturgus* (eleventh century) inscribed with his name :³ with its severe style it will be for us a perfect substitute for the now whitewashed mosaic representations of bishops in the cathedral of S. Sophia at Constantinople. The faultless plastic drawing of the figure is scarcely to be classed as painting in view of the paleness of the colours and the slight indication of relief, but the perfect mastery with which the folds of the drapery are rendered by the above-described gradation or modelling with shadows, brighter planes, and high lights of varying tints of buff, likewise recalls the mosaics of the Capella Palatina at Palermo : but unlike the mosaics we find in this case bright colour upon the sunburnt cheeks and lively flesh colour although the face is pale. This icon is clearly a real portrait, and in type remarkably like the icons of S. Gregory in S. Sophia at Kiev and his enamel icon on the Pala d'Oro in S. Mark's, Venice.

¹ Dalton, *Byz. Art*, p. 318, f. 193, after Ph. Lauer, *Mon. Piot*, 1906.

³ Grabar'-Muratov, p. 149 ; Alpátov and Lásareff (Lázarev), *Jahrb. d. Preuss. Kunstsaml.*, LXIV. ii, p. 146, f. 3.

Equally precious is an icon of the *Transfiguration* which came from the Academy of Arts to which it was presented by P. I. Sevas-tiánov in the middle of the last century. Like most of the Greek or other rare specimens of his collection he had brought it from Mount Athos. The icon, about 10 inches (25 cm.) broad, is painted on a thick oaken plank sawn out of an entablature, or rather out of the top cornice of the iconostas of a small church or side-chapel, which it had adorned as one of a series of twelve Festivals or events of the Gospel story. In this case they were all painted on a bright red ground, a curious peculiarity of many early icons down to and including the fourteenth century. This icon by its style cannot be later than the tenth or possibly the beginning of the eleventh century: it is completely in the spirit of Byzantine art as restored after the iconoclastic movement. Its style is just like that of the Paris MS. of Gregory the Great,¹ only a certain sentiment in the types, peculiar to icon-painting, distinguishes it from the work in MSS., though at this period both icons and miniatures seem to have been executed by icon-painters.

But the most remarkable of all examples of Byzantine icon-painting were discovered by me at Ochrida in the church of S. Clement in 1900:² The icons, about 40 × 28 inches (100 × 70 cm.), are evidently part of the splendid old iconostas of the thirteenth or fourteenth century moved across from the cathedral when it was turned into a mosque. S. Clement's had long been known for its antiquities but the icons were on the top row of the iconostas, covered with glass and half a century's dust, so that it was very difficult to distinguish them. When brought down and cleaned they proved to be in almost perfect preservation both as regards the paintings and the silver adornments on their backgrounds and frames wonderfully wrought with repoussé figures of saints and with decorative patterns. The severely majestic half-figures of *Our Lord* and of the *Virgin and Child* can be paralleled only by the best mosaics of the eleventh to twelfth centuries at Daphni and Palermo: and the icon of the *Annunciation*, adorned with the very finest cloisonné enamels of the eleventh century, is of perfect elegance. The other icons of *Our Lady* proved to be Serbian copies of Greco-Italian types of the *Virgin and Child* and belong only to the fourteenth century.

We must pass over various small Byzantine icons mostly from Mount Athos. The dimensions of the bigger icons that are really

¹ Bibl. Nat. 510; H. Omont, *Facs. des* LX bis.

Miniatures des plus anciens MSS. grecs de la
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1902, Pl. xv-

² Kondakov, *Macedonia*, 1909, pp. 249
sqq., Pl. v-xii.

Byzantine (excluding those of the fifteenth century produced, as we shall see later, under quite different conditions) may give us some idea of the part played by icons in Byzantine art. It is evident that Byzantine churches had their so-called 'fixed' icons: they were called in Russia fixed (or placed, *městnyya* from *město*, place) icons because being permanently fixed in the intercolumniations of the iconostas, and boarded up behind, they always remained in place.¹ In cathedrals in Russia these fixed icons reached large dimensions up to seven feet or so (2 m.) in height and breadth. In Byzantium the iconostas generally reached almost across the central nave, but as it was customary to have not less than eight or ten intercolumniations in it, the fixed icons were lower and much narrower than in Russia. Thus the icon of *Our Lord* bearing the dedicatory inscription of the noble Alexis (Pl. XXII, Russian Museum, No. 917), though a fixed icon, is only 27½ inches (70 cm.) broad and 40 inches (1 m.) high. So too the early Novgorod icons whether fixed or festival, being made for iconostases of the Greek type with only two rows of icons, are generally of similar dimensions, whereas icons of the second half of the fifteenth century are on a larger scale. Still smaller, in Greek work, were the fixed icons for side-chapels, e. g. the icon of S. Gregory is only 31½ inches (80 cm.) high. Early icons of the Festivals are generally nearly square in shape and not more than 16 inches (40 cm.) high; rows of icons upon walls may be 19½ inches (50 cm.) deep, whereas in the sixteenth century the Festivals reach 31½ inches (80 cm.) even among the Greeks.

It is more difficult to make out the sizes of devotional or house icons: but icons of Our Lady, usual in this class, do not surpass 12 inches (30 cm.); later they reach 24 inches. It is remarkable that in all early icons of Greek work, even the largest, the surface for the painting is sunk; either it is actually chiselled out, or else in the case of large icons a kind of frame is applied. Italo-Cretan icons and south Italian icons of a similar style have nothing of the kind. Sunken fields are found in the earlier Russian icons, especially those from Novgorod.

¹ The more general explanation of the term is that the *městnyya ikóny* are 'the icons of the locally-revered Festivals and Saints': so Anísimov defines them in his

Guide to the Exhibition of Monuments of Old-Russian Icon-painting, held in the Historical Museum, Moscow, in 1926.

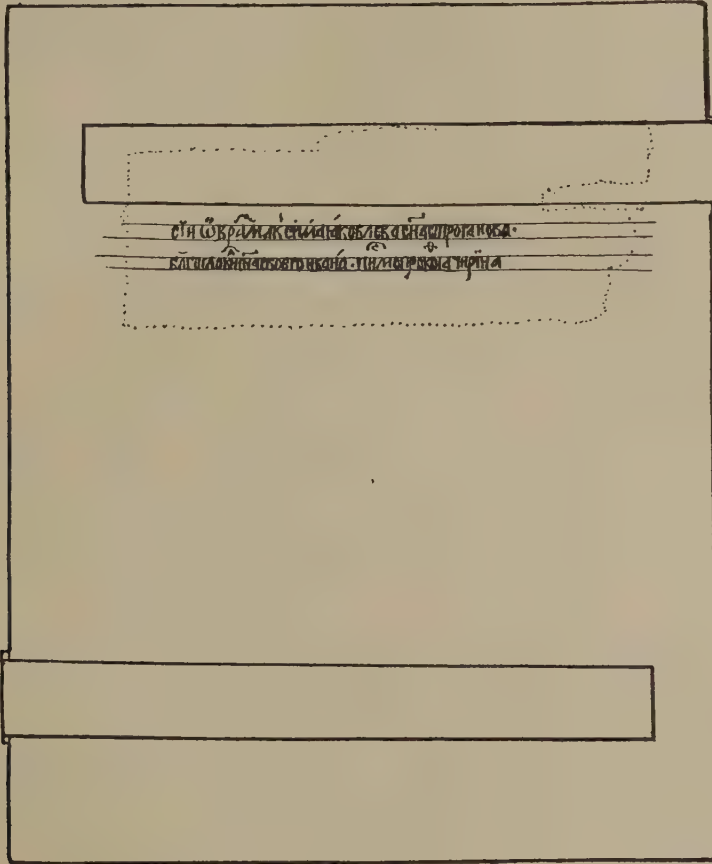
II

USE AND PLACE OF ICONS IN RUSSIA

THE veneration for icons in early Russia soon exceeded the bounds of ancient custom and the visual side of prayer took the form of endless bowing to icons. In the enumeration of Latin errors which forms part of the epistle of Michael Cerularius (A. D. 1054) much is made of their refusal of the reverence for the 'holy icons' which was one of the most conspicuous outer signs of Orthodoxy.¹ But, as we shall see, in Russia icons attained an incomparably wider development than in Byzantium; a practically new class, that of the devotional icon (*molénnyaya*), arose (almost unknown to the Greeks except in the type of folding icons for journeys, derived from the pilgrim icons) and there came into being a great artistic craft. This development was of course closely connected with the abundance of wood supplied by the boundless forests of northern Russia. Wood was the material for houses, mansions, out-buildings, and churches, and their only decorations were often icons painted upon wood. Russia was particularly rich in just the sorts of wood which were most suitable by means of long seasoning and skilful gluing to make good panels: such were lime, alder, birch, and oak, to which came to be added in later times the sweet-smelling cypress from the Greek Orient. Whereas in the East it was difficult to get hold of a panel for a big fixed icon that should not warp or split, in Russia the icon-makers showed off their mastery of woodwork in executing the orders of the Stróganovs. It may be noted that only eighteenth-century icons and common ones at that (*raskhózhíya*, made for general sale not for particular orders) are warped 'outwards' with the painted side convex, so that they split and the *shpónki* or cleats for keeping them straight fall out of their grooves at the back. Early icons of the Novgorod, Pskov, and First Moscow or so-called Stróganov schools remain straight, though it is true that the straightness is sometimes attained by the restorers steaming or 'poulticing' them on one side.

¹ A. Popov, *Survey of the Ancient Russian Works of Controversy against the Latins, Eleventh to Sixteenth Centuries*, P. 1875, pp. 56 sqq.

At the time when Russian icon-painting in the Suzdal' and Novgorod school touched its highest point the word 'sizable' (*mêrnaya* from *mêra*, measure) came to be applied to an icon which was of the size customary for each class of icon. This is an important point, as



BACK OF PL. LIV. 1.

The diagram shows the back of the icon given on Pl. LIV. 1, after Likhachëv, *Materials*, CCLXVIII. 495. The board is covered with linen and the inscription is upon a patch of paint: it runs 'This is the icon of Maxim son of Iakov Stroganov: he gave it in blessing to his Ivan. The painting (*pis'mo*) is by Prokofi Chirin.' In spite of the *shpónki* or cleats the board has warped a little, so that they show behind and project at the side.

the term often occurs in the inventories of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The 'sizable' icon came in when the dimensions of the icons in the different tiers of the iconostas had become settled

and the types of devotional icons more or less fixed. This fixing of dimensions gave a great chance to mere journeyman work: every pupil or under-workman could now copy a drawing and transfer it by pouncing (*perevód* is the kind of stencil so produced) to another icon for an iconostas or oratory without having to make it larger or smaller, that is to say, without having to possess any skill in drawing. From this we can easily see why the drawing in the Novgorod school simplifies the Byzantine scheme to such a degree, whereas in the Moscow work such rude simplification no longer meets us: of course the church iconostases were of the first importance in this, as by ready tracings they could be executed by pupils or mere journeymen.

Greek iconostases¹ and their imitations, the iconostases of early Russia, Georgia, Armenia, and the like, consisted of marble or wooden pillars or columns, joined below by slabs (*cancelli, transennae*), above by an entablature: in the spaces between the columns were the large 'fixed' icons and the smaller 'Festivals'. Upon the occasion of a festival it was usual to place its icon upon a lectern or desk for the faithful to kiss: accordingly icons of this class must be capable of being easily taken from their places and put within reach: this Greek custom was adopted in Russia. But in the fifteenth century in Russia, and soon after in the Greek countries, there came in a new type of iconostas with five or six tiers. This seems to have been mainly due to the introduction of the triple icon called *Deisus* (a corruption of the Greek *δέησις* perhaps influenced by the form *Iisus* = Jesus). The *Deesis* (I keep the Greek shape of the word) showed Our Lord enthroned with Our Lady on his right and S. John the Baptist on his left: it might consist of whole figures, half-lengths, or merely heads.² As long as this was a single icon, though it spoilt the symmetry of the other 'fixed' icons, it was put in the bottom tier: but when it became a triple icon, it was set above the Festivals where the Greeks (and Latins) had of old put the Crucifixion flanked sometimes by Our Lady and S. John the Divine.

¹ G. D. Filimónov, *The Church of St. Nicholas na Lípne* 'On the Shape of Iconostases', 1859; I. A. Speróvski, 'Early Russian Iconostases', *Khristiánskoe Chténie*, 1891-2. I use the Russian form *iconostás*, not 'iconostasis' which is neither Greek nor Russian. The Greek *εικονοστάσιον* means an oratory or icon-shrine (*kiot*, vide p. 33, n. 1). The Russian *iconostas* is called in Greek *τέμπλον* from the Latin *templum* in the sense of 'purlin, horizontal beam'. pronounced *temblo* it gave in Russian

tyabló (cf. *kolyáda* from *kalendae*), used for the tiers of icons on the high iconostases. See Golubinski, *Hist. Russ. Ch.*² I. ii, pp. 206-8, 214.

² The central groups of Pls. XXVIII, XXX, LXIII are each really a complete *Deesis*; Pl. XLIX is a special form of the theme; Pl. XXIV is a half-length *Deesis*, another such forms part of Pl. XLIII. 2, and on Pl. LXII the pious man is praying to another; Pl. LX shows two panels of mere heads.



IV. ICONOSTAS, USPENSKI CATHEDRAL, MOSCOW
XVII cent.

When the three icons of the *Deesis* were put up high they were flanked on each side by figures of Archangels, Apostles, and Fathers: this is often called a *chin*¹ and might form a whole *Deesis* tier, sometimes called the tier of Holy Fathers (*Svyatiteli*). Next was made the crowning tier of the Prophets on each side of the Virgin and Child. Much later was added above this the tier of the Patriarchs. Both these tiers might have the figures either whole or half length. They might even be fixed to the chancel arch so as entirely to separate the apse from the nave. Above all was sometimes a row of Cherubim. The first mention of these high iconostases is in 1508.

The iconostas of the Uspenski Cathedral at Moscow, an excellent example, is shown fairly well upon Pl. IV.² In the bottom row can be seen the Royal Doors with the *Annunciation* and the *Four Evangelists*; to the north or left of this is the *kiot* of *Our Lady of Vladimir*, then *Our Lord*, adored by Barlaam Khutynski, brought from Novgorod in 1476, next *Our Lady of Smolensk*: the pillar hides four 'fixed' icons and the door leading into the Prothesis, the door seen beyond it leads into a side-chapel, above it is a famous *Vernicle*, *Yároe Óko* (*vide* p. 129), by it an icon of *S. Nicholas*, and a *Holy Trinity* round the corner. To the south of the Royal Doors is a fixed icon of *Our Lord*, also brought from Novgorod, and next it the icon of the *Dormition*, the dedication feast of the cathedral; behind the pillar is the door into the Diaconicon and another into another chapel, by this icons of the *Annunciation* and *The Queen did stand* (*vide* pp. 61, 160). The next tier in this case is given to the *Deesis* in full form, *Our Lord* flanked by *Our Lady* and *S. John the Baptist*, then the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, *S. Peter*, *S. Paul* behind the right pillars and then other Apostles. In the next tier of Festivals can be distinguished, beginning from the north, the *Birth of Our Lady*, her *Presentation in the Temple*, the *Annunciation*, (*Nativity*, *Presentation*), *Baptism*, *Raising of Lazarus*, *Entry into Jerusalem*, *Transfiguration*, *Crucifixion*, *Descent from the Cross*, *Entombment* (*Resurrection*, *Unbelief of S. Thomas*), *Ascension* (and beyond the *Trinity*, the *Descent of the Holy Spirit*, and the *Dormition*). In the fourth tier *Our Lady holding Emmanuel upon her lap* is flanked by *David* and *Solomon* and the other figures are all Prophets. In

¹ *Chin* means 'order, rank' = τάξις used of different orders of Angels or Saints; but it has an idea of completeness which accounts for its use for the 'Complete *Deesis*'. A *chin* with the *Deesis*, two Archangels and two Saints was called a *Sed'mitsa*,

a *hebdomas*, which might be expected to mean a week.

² Pr. A. Shirinski-Shikhmatov, *The Great Cathedral of the Dormition at Moscow*, 1896. Pl. xxiv: Pls. xxv to L show the icons upon it in detail.

the top tier *God of Sabaoth, with Christ and the Dove* is in the midst of the twelve Patriarchs, Adam, Abel, &c.

The smaller iconostas of the chapel of the Nativity of Our Lady in S. Sophia at Novgorod, Pl. V, is all of the sixteenth century. The Royal Doors are better examples, having upon their posts Our Lady and Our Lord, holy Bishops below, Deacons above, and the double *Eucharist* in the spandrels. The fixed icons are the *Annunciation*, *Our Lady of Vladimir*, the *Trinity*, and the *Nativity of Our Lady*. The upper tiers answer roughly to the Moscow example, but the *Deesis* has holy Bishops as well as Apostles, and the top tier has only four Patriarchs.

In the cathedral at Súzdal' one icon from the old iconostas has been preserved; it is two metres high: one can imagine the imposing effect of such a tier: and also how it was only rendered possible by the abundance of wood. The more magnificent iconostases of Moscow, those in the Uspenski and Archangel Cathedrals, far surpass those of the best churches of Greece, Athos, and the East.

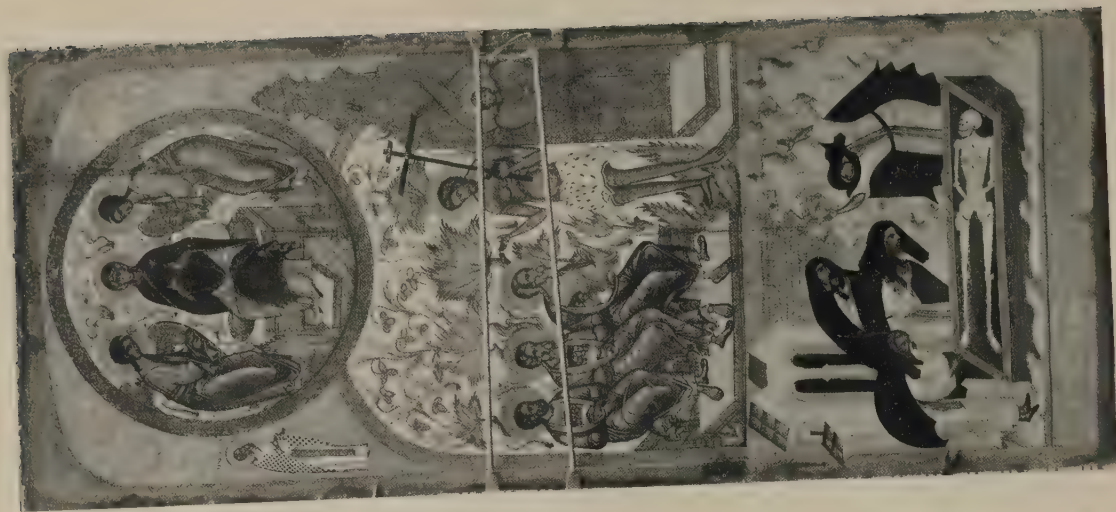
It would be a mistake to suppose that all these erections of icons, and iconostases, these tiers of icons, fixed icons, and groups of icons put about in ancient Russian churches are merely decorative furnishing or a mere joy to the eye. On the contrary as opposed to the true wall-paintings all these tiers and groups received a definite spiritual meaning and to this day as the pious worshipper goes round before service to venerate the fixed icons (called *poklónnyya* because people bend the knee before them: *poklón* is a deep bow), the icons of the side tiers, &c., he is as it were making a pilgrimage round what early Christianity would have termed the holy *memoriae* of his church.

With the development of the tall iconostas, Russian icon-painting came to devoting special attention to the Royal Doors in the centre and to the side doors in the screen which lead to the Credence and the Sacristy (*prothesis* and *diaconicon*): these doors are either decorated with wood-carving or covered with icons. The Royal Doors, the name goes back to Byzantine usage,¹ had at first only room upon their panels for the *Four Evangelists*, but when they grew higher the *Annunciation* was added above, Gabriel on one side, and the B.V.M. on the other (*vide* Pls. V, VI. 1, see p. 33): for the centuries from the tenth to the fourteenth in both Greece and Russia this had been represented upon two pillars in the sanctuary rising above the iconostas. Next for the sake of decorative effect they began to hang the Royal Doors upon special door-posts to support them and to set a canopy

¹ Yet the Greeks sometimes apply it to the great doors at the west end of a church, and call the screen doors 'Holy'.



V. ICONOSTAS, CHAPEL OF OUR LADY'S NATIVITY, S. SOPHIA, NOVGOROD
XVI cent.



VI. 2. N. DOOR OF ICONOSTAS
SS. Peter and Paul, Novgorod. c. 1500.
Pages 33, 114, 200



VI. 1. ROYAL DOORS FROM AN ICONOSTAS
Novgorod. XIV cent.

or tabernacle over them after the fashion of a *kiot*¹ or icon-shrine. It became the custom to paint upon the three surfaces of the posts series of holy Bishops and Deacons, beginning with Stephen the first Deacon, with their censers and incense boxes (*vide* Pl. XXXVII). On the canopy were painted either the *Eucharist*² or the *Old Testament Trinity*;³ later, under western influence, the *Last Supper*, the *Vernicle*, or *Picture not made with hands* (Pls. XLI, LX. 1), *Our Lady of the Sign* (*Známénie*),⁴ *Sophia the Wisdom of God*, and others. More varied and interesting were the subjects painted upon the northern and southern doors: the *Archangel Michael*, the *Guardian Angel* (Pl. LXII), the *Prophet Daniel*, the *Creation of Adam*, the *Expulsion from Paradise*, *Jacob's Ladder*, *Abraham's Bosom*, and many other subjects such as we see on Pl. VI. 2.⁵

These are all edifying themes and their teaching was clear to the unlearned Christian, as symbols telling of the doors of paradise, shut against the sinner, guarded by the Archangel with the flaming sword, but open to the soul of the just, purged from original sin and granted access to heaven. By the same symbolism the side doors of churches were made narrow. With the same idea too the most popular subject on the north door was a full-length figure of the *Penitent Thief* standing with a cross in his hand in the garden of paradise, or *Alexis the man of God* after he had passed through this troublous life (Pl. XLVI. 2).

About the *kliros*⁶ and on the side walls of a church and especially in the narthex and porches, or if these are absent against the faces of the piers, were set shelves with icons presented to the church or else edifying icons for general instruction, such as *Our Saviour of the Unsleeping Eye* (Pl. XXXII), *Sophia the Wisdom of God*, *Wisdom hath builded her house*, *The Last Judgement* (Pl. LXIII), *The Lord*

¹ *Kiot*, κιβωτός; one or more icons may be set in a frame or cupboard generally adorned with a pediment above and glazed in front: this makes a kind of shrine and is called a *kiot*. Or it may form a kind of triptych, often with many small iconic scenes painted upon the doors, pediment, and surround.

² Our Lord giving the Eucharist in both kinds to the Apostles, *vide* Pls. V, VI. 1, LII.

³ The three Angels that appeared to Abraham, *vide* Pl. XX.

⁴ The type of Our Lady of Blachernae bearing Emmanuel in a round medallion, *vide infra*, p. 66 and Pl. LVIII, cf. LIV. 1,

the subsidiary figure above.

⁵ Pl. VI. 1. Inscriptions: 'Annunciation of the Holy Theotokos. Gabriel. ΜΡ, ΘΣ. ΙC. XC. twice and the words of the institution of the Eucharist (given more clearly and correctly on Pl. LII, p. 168). The names of the Four Evangelists. Pl. VI. 2. ΜΡ. ΘΣ.: S. Dionysius: Abraham: Isaac: Jacob': account of the vision of Sisoës, *vide infra*, p. 114.

⁶ Greek κλῆρος = 'platform for the choir', often corrupted into *krylos* as if from *krylo* = 'wing': hence the *lik kryloshán*, 'order of choristers', next the Emperor on Pl. XXXVI, bottom row.

among the Powers (*vide* p. 106), *Praise God in the Highest* (Pl. XXVIII), *God rested on the Seventh Day*, *The Six Days* (*vide* p. 125), and the like.

From the sixteenth century we observe a multiplication of icons in the churches, in domestic oratories (called also *obraznáya*, a room set apart for *obrazá* = icons), in monasteries, cells and chapels, and further in the living-rooms and offices of houses, and also above entrance gates and doors. The so-called *Chinovniki* or books of ritual mention in churches icons belonging to special categories, the fixed or placed icons (*vide* p. 27), those behind the altar, those painted on both sides and set upon special stands so that they could be taken out, those upon staves or stands which could be carried in procession, those which lay upon desks or lecterns, those set out specially for veneration and kissing, those behind the *ambones* set in special *kiots*, those above the *kliros* or choir-stage, those above the chancel steps, above the Bishop's throne, especially votive icons presented in memory of some person, icons presented in consequence of a vow and such like. A special class is that of birth-icons given to children at their birth (perhaps Pl. LIV. 1 with the inscription shown on p. 29 is such an icon), and coffin or funerary icons given to a church and preserved in a person's memory. Such are the icons of the Moscow Tsars still kept in special cupboards along the walls of the Archangel Cathedral in the Kremlin at Moscow, the burial place of the old Tsars. From incense smoke and dust fixed and specially honoured icons were protected by curtains of light silk: in houses curtains veiled them 'against the doings of everyday life'. The popularity of particular subjects was influenced by their use on different occasions of life, icons of the *Saviour* and of *Our Lady* for the nuptial blessing, *Our Saviour* above gates, and the *Deesis* above the entrance of the older churches. The multiplication of icons was nearly connected with the custom of having in every house an oratory, generally several glazed *kiots* filled with icons and set in the so-called 'fair corner' (*krásny úgol*) of a reception or a dining-room: richer people would have a separate room for the oratory and in it the icons would be arranged in regular tiers with shelves for lamps to burn before them. Interesting accounts of the Muscovites' passion for icons and everything to do with them, especially for old ones, is given by the well-known Paul of Aleppo, who accompanied the Patriarch of Antioch on a journey to Russia in 1655.¹

Paul was no little struck by the Russians' piety, how they stood all day in the churches and kept vigil all night, so that even in court

¹ Tr. F. C. Belfour, 2 vols., London, esp. ii, p. 157. Much dealing with church 1829-36 (Oriental Translation Committee): matters is omitted.

circles lay folk competed with the ascetic endurance of the monks. He says that the multitude of icons in the Moscow churches astounded the Oriental clergy who had fallen on evil times and let their churches become desolate :

‘ Know ’, says he, ‘ that in the Uspenski, Annunciation and Archangel Cathedrals and in many churches and monasteries are kept boxes in the shape of books covered with velvet or damask, with silver and gilding. Each of these boxes contains twelve elegant icons on thin panels [more exactly on linen stiffened with size] and on each are painted the saints of a given month. These icons are set out upon lecterns covered with a rich pall and standing in front of the Holy Doors. Besides these icons which give the round of the year [so-called *Minei Svyattsý* or saints of the month] there hang also big icons divided into twelve parts with figures of the saints and festivals for each month. If anyone’s zeal moves him to set up a candle before any particular subject, he sticks it into an iron candle-holder in front of the icon and pushes this up and down to one side or the other so that it comes exactly opposite the subject of his devotion. Opposite this icon upon a pillar there is a similar icon of *Our Lady’s Acathist*, that is the twenty-four praises sung in her honour on the fifth Saturday in Lent.’¹

It was so long since the Greeks had their own monthly saints upon thin boards that the Greek bishop had forgotten about them : two twelfth-century fragments, Greek work in the miniaturist style, are preserved in the Moscow Theological Academy (Troitse-Sergieva Lavra), and similar miniatures are added to Gospels, Menaea, and the like. Paul goes on to relate how on Orthodoxy Sunday, when the restoration of icons to honour is celebrated, the custom was that at a great service held in Moscow a solemn presentation of icons should be made to the Tsar and the Prelates, and the name of each saint represented was called out and the presentation was made by Bishops of great provincial sees as Novgorod and Rostóv.

In describing his visit to the Novodêvichi Monastýr’ (New Nunnery) at Moscow, Paul describes the main church as having set out round the walls to the very doors and round the piers a vast number of small icons covered with plates of silver gilt, in two rows one above the other, many of them adorned with gold and jewels ‘ past pricing ’. ‘ Even in the windows of the church there are icons one above another for lack of room, for the whole church is crammed

¹ See p. 181 ; Pl. LIX shows the *Annunciation* surrounded by twelve hymns of the *Acathist*.

with them: there must be more than three thousand of them.' 'Much astonished were we at this, for the least valuable icon in this church was worth five dinars.'

The Patriarch Nikon explained to his guests that all the nuns who entered the convent, princesses, noble widows, and their daughters, along with themselves brought to the monastery all their property.

Alas, nowadays we have counted no more than thirty ancient icons upon the walls of the great church of this convent, and of them not more than seven have retained their ancient mountings. Rather better preserved is the series of votive and memorial icons in the monastery of the Protection of Our Lady (*Pokróv*) at Súzdal', founded in the fourteenth century and the favourite resting place of ladies of the princely houses of Súzdal' and its neighbourhood during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The greater part of the icons still keep their fittings in repoussé silver, glories of filigree, frontlets (*ryásno*) of pearl, hanging crescents (*tsáta*), also palls and hangings.

This brings us to mounting and external adornment of icons which side by side with excellence of painting were the subject of pious zeal on the part of donors. Even the Greeks, as early as the tenth century, yielding to the general taste for ornamental backgrounds, began adorning the whole field of the icons with stamped sheets of silver, and the raised borders or true frames with similar strips of silver (the central part of Pl. XII shows this more or less) sometimes set with jewels. The golden nimbus of early times from being flat was given relief as a halo (*vénchik*) adorned with repoussé (Pl. XLI. 2) or with filigree of twisted gold wire (*skan'*) sometimes picked out with enamel (*finift'*) (Pl. LI. 2): later the halo took the form of an actual crown. For instance, the golden diadem discovered at Kiev¹ where it had been buried for safety at the time of the Mongol invasion, with its tiny enamel representation of the *Deesis*, and figures of Archangels and Apostles, is really the halo from a big icon but has the shape of a diadem. The great golden crescent with half-length figures in enamel, part of a similar treasure from the district of Rádomyśl, was a halo from an icon but still has the shape of a simple nimbus. But the zeal of donors did not stop short at these directly symbolic adornments: they began to decorate icons with silver-gilt pendants, likewise in the symbolic form of crescents (Gr. *μηνίσκοι*, also *φέγγια*), the word in Russian is hanging *tsáta* (small *tsaty* are worn by the figures to the left and below on Pl. XLIII. 2), and to the haloes they began to add ear-rings and strings of pearls or beads,

¹ N. P. Kondakov, *Les Émaux Byzantins* pp. 385-8; *Rússkiye Klády* (Russian *de la Collection Zvenigorodskoi*, 1892, Pl. 28, Hoards), 1896, i, Pl. VIII.

to hang along the forehead ; such a string is called *ryásno*. An icon was swathed in an embroidered silk towel (*poloténtse*, *plat*) to keep off dust (see Pl. V), and below it hung an embroidered pall (*pelená*).

As long ago as the fourteenth century, under Greek influence, the Russians began to cover even the figures with plates of silver showing in more or less relief the outlines and folds of the clothes and vestments : such a plate is called a *ríza*, properly speaking a garment, especially a chasuble :¹ they were first applied to the large 'fixed' icons and afterwards to those which individuals received at baptism or on special occasions. The parts of the figures left unclothed, faces, hands, and the like, all the flesh tints, show through holes in the *ríza*. This is how Paul of Aleppo describes the look of the icons in the Uspenski Cathedral at Moscow : 'All round the church and about the four piers are set great icons of which you can see nothing but the hands and faces, hardly any of the clothing can be distinguished [i. e. the painting], the rest is thick repoussé silver with niello. The greater part of the icons are Greek.' Paul did not distinguish between true Greek icons and copies going back to Greek originals.² But even more precious were the trappings of the icons in the Cathedral of the Annunciation, the favourite church of the wives and daughters of the Tsars who always went there to pray.

'No goldsmith,' says Paul, 'however skilled, could estimate the great stones, diamonds, rubies and emeralds, set upon the icons and haloes of Our Saviour and Our Lady : the jewels glow in the darkness like burning coals. The gilding of the icons with pure gold, the many hued enamel executed with the finest art, all arouses the admiration of the skilled observer. The value of the icons in this church would fill several treasuries. The church has nine domes, thickly gilt ; on the central dome is a cross said to be worth several millions : in each of the eight outer domes is a chapel all gold within and round it a fair trellis of brass.'

¹ I think the word must be Slavonic, but our author connects it with *pl̃čai*, some sort of adornment of Imperial clothes, Codinus, *de Offic.* iii. 3. E. H. M.

² See the view of the Uspenski iconostas in Pl. IV. The tier of fixed icons shows all this aggregation of metallic ornament, on the upper tiers we have haloes and back plates but not the *ríza* : the Novgorod screen (Pl. V) shows this same stage and also the *poloténtse* and *pelená* above and

below the icon of Our Lady. Cheap icons (*podubórnjya*) are sometimes made with only the *ríza* and no painting but the patches of flesh that show through it. Naturally the icons illustrated in this book are as far as possible divested of these trappings : but they cannot be denied a certain effectiveness in the setting for which they are calculated. Pl. LVIII shows all these trappings, but the *tsáta*, here combined with the Child's glory, has been put underneath.

So it is that to this day (or to the other day) the cupolas of this cathedral have kept their precious icons in silver and enamel mountings, but they are all, owing to cracks in the vaults and 'government' care, going to rack and ruin (*vide* p. 159).

Naturally even more decoration was applied to the devotional icon in private hands: this came to stand not merely as a symbol or sign, but a kind of household protector and defender: against evil spirits and the invasion of the Devil, icons of the Martyr *S. Nicetas*, the vanquisher of evil spirits: against fiery conflagration, the figure of *Elias the Prophet* or his *Ascent in a fiery Chariot* or else of *Our Lady the Burning Bush* (Pl. XXXIII, see p. 110): against murrain among cattle the icon of *S. Blaise (Vlási)*: from sickness, *S. Panteleimon*: from sudden death, *S. Christopher*: there were also icons to give protection against fever, against pestilential winds, against catching cold, against poisonous snakes, and beasts of prey, and the like. *Anastasia the Looser (izorêshitel'nitsa)* helped women in child-bed: *SS. John the Warrior* (Pl. LIV. 1), *Procopius*, *George* (Pl. XII) favoured warlike expeditions. The icon of *Our Lady* 'who adds good sense'¹ guards us against murder.

Under Peter the Great the Russian bishops were carried away by his movement for reform and enlightenment in the direction of Protestantism and a purging of faith and ritual: they gave the clergy directions to clear the icons of unnecessary 'additions'. The result was a general reduction of ancient objects in churches, especially of icons valuable for their antiquity or for their mountings. Pearls taken off icons are (or were) still shown by the bushel in rich monasteries.² At the same period there came to an end the perpetual care which is necessary to keep icons from decay, and universal destruction set in. An icon requires careful preservation; it must have a more or less steady temperature and suffers from variations in it and also from excessive moisture and dust. The thin layer of gesso that carries the paint swells up, cracks, and scales off, so that many bare places are left. Dust does special damage, especially if an icon is horizontal, or if a dusty icon gets damp and dry alternately. In the old days the icons were looked after: in the palaces of Moscow there was an Office of Icons (*obraznáya paláta*, from *obraz* = icon, *vide* p. 11, n. 3) which collected old icons and contained shops for mending and cleaning them. Of course it must be granted that this looking after icons and frequently cataloguing them led to a general repainting

¹ *Pribavlenie umá*: she is the same as *Our Lady of Loretto*. has gone on since the revolution and has exposed much interesting work. E. H. M.

² I hear that a similar stripping of *rizy*



VI A. OUR LADY OF VLADIMIR. FACES
Byzantine. XII cent. Moscow.

in order to restore them and freshen up the colours, so that an old icon came out in a new style.

However, if we think how in old times people used to 'olive' icons (to cover them with oil sometimes darkened on purpose) and cover pictures with varnish, and how in recent times they cleaned the varnish off whole galleries of old pictures, so much so that they took off the original delicate polish, and even the old paint so as almost to expose the ground coat, we must not complain too much of the treatment icons have received.

Our Lady of Vladimir.

Since this book was set up I have received from Professor Anísimov photographs of this icon as it appears since it was cleaned, and full accounts of it are accessible.¹ The results are so important that I have added an extra plate VIA showing the faces, and this note is the only place available. The general scheme can be seen from the fifteenth-century copy shown on the Frontispiece. In the original this is represented by a Russian repainting, *c.* 1400, which has nothing beneath it owing to the *riza* having been stripped off many times. But the faces, especially the curve of Our Lady's nose, are entirely unlike the Russian style, and find close analogues in Byzantine work of 1100–1150, e. g. Our Lady in the Martorana at Palermo.² We may therefore believe that it really is the icon brought from Constantinople for Andrew Bogolyubski about 1131 and set up by him in the Cathedral at Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma in 1155; stripped by the Tartars in 1237 and brought to Moscow in 1395 to the great joy of that city; and since then the Palladium of the Russian State. The *kiot* in which it was preserved in the Uspenski Sobor can just be distinguished on Pl. IV, to the left of the Royal Doors, but not the elaborate metallic decorations.³ The colouring of the faces is not quite like that of our Frontispiece; Our Lady's face is more of an olive tone with greenish shadows; the Child's is painted more boldly with almost whitish surfaces passing rather suddenly into green shadows or the red of lips and cheek. A most important point is that the scheme of Our Lady *Eleusa* (*Umilénie*, p. 75, n. 1) proves to be older than the fourteenth century. Alpatoff quotes for it a Psalter in the Pantocrator on Athos (A. D. 1064), the Smyrna Physiologus, and a Psalter at Berlin, and Likhachëv has found it upon a seal, all of the eleventh century. This fact would have made our author revise some of his judgements (*vide* p. 88). E. H. M.

¹ *Jahrb. d. Preusz. Kunstsammlungen*, 89, f. 22.

LXIV. ii (1925), pp. 140–55; M. Alpatoff u. V. Lasareff, 'Ein byz. Tafelwerk aus d. Komnenenepoche'; Wulff-Alpatoff, pp. 63–6; Muratov, *Peinture*, pp. 73, 85, f. 21,

² Dalton, *Byz. Art*, p. 408, f. 239.

³ For these see W. Stephens, *The Soul of Russia*, London, 1916, p. 68, coloured plate.

III

TECHNIQUE

RECKONED by strictly aesthetic standards the Russian icon in its composition and drawing lies in a special 'sacred province' outside the ordinary historical conditions to which secular painting answers. This province is not concerned with nature, the ultimate model of the secular painter, nor with perspective, nor with anatomy. The iconic sphere provides a scheme which possesses a majesty consisting in the rejection of the world, of the painters' illusion, of the expression of feeling, of the attraction of ideal types. The mere repetition of the very same forms and types confers a certain sanctity upon icon-painting and gives all that it performs the character of a conscious service to the transcendental.

All these points in icon-painting are derived from the history of Byzantine art: it is they which mark the progress of this art in a series of glorious works in mosaic, illumination, cloisonné of marvellous beauty, decorative stuffs, fine carving in ivory and in gold: in all these branches it reached a high perfection. Is Russian icon-painting to be regarded as a dead repetition of Byzantine craftsmanship, or has it its own history, its own departures from the Byzantine original, its own national features? This is the problem before us when we try to characterize the Russian icon. In the course of four centuries we do find in it Rublëv's drawing, the Novgorod manner, the drawing of Dionysius, that of the Stróganov school, the Frankish method, and the like, and icon-painters distinguish a still greater number of so-called manners (*pis'mó*); but these may be only variations of one style, and for this reason before proceeding to an historical grouping we must consider the characteristics of the drawing from the point of view of general art history.¹

¹ *Risúnok*, 'drawing', answers in meaning to the French *dessin*, both 'drawing' and 'design'; the verb *risováť* comes through the Polish from the German *reissen*, which besides its ordinary sense 'to tear' means 'to score, to draw with a sharp point, to draw in outline', being connected with *ritzen* and the same word

as our *write*: *scribo* and *γράφειν* show the same original meaning. The uses of the Slavonic *pisát'*, originally 'to paint or decorate' (*pingo* may be allied), were modelled on those of *γράφειν*, so that it means 'write' as well as 'paint', and 'paint' both of walls, *tsérkov' podpisana*, 'a church was frescoed', and of icons,

Drawing is very closely bound up with composition, just as the latter depends most directly upon drawing. But as Russian icon-painting took over the composition ready-made from the Greek, people are wrongly given to think that drawing in our icon-painting remained Greek all the while, as if right up to the end of the sixteenth century it was impossible to speak of Russian drawing. Now when we come to the icons of Nóvgorod we shall find ourselves unable to maintain that in them we have nothing but Byzantine drawing: exact comparison will prove that even the mechanical tracings of a head and shoulders figure of a saint led to confusion and changes of the Greek drawing. Only now that we have gained a real knowledge of Byzantine iconography¹ are we in a position to state that it is, in spite of all faults of drawing and expression, not only complete but final, as all attempts on the part of painters to make new groupings have only led to want of clearness and characterization in the subjects.

These compositions took centuries to think out and served their purpose for centuries. Only in the seventeenth century do we hear of icon-painters at the Russian court who were also designers (*známenshchik*), kept to carry out commands in the artistic province, but these commands were for designs for vessels, household objects, and trappings, especially the emblematic designs then so fashionable about Europe. No one ever thought of making up new religious subjects; anyway they all painted after the icon fashion, learning to draw from the icon models and within the limits of icon-painting. This made it possible for even poor craftsmen to draw and paint icons with elaborate detail and with many figures: of course they spoilt the figures to the last degree especially when towards the end the supremacy of the Frankish style introduced lively, free, and dramatic poses.

Accordingly the human figure was painted in different manners at different times: besides this the setting, although it only had the same two words, *paláty* = buildings, and *górkí* = hills, to express its two main kinds, also changed in character.

ikonostás napisán, 'a screen was furnished with icons'. Mr. N. B. Jopson, Reader in Slavonic Philology at King's College, London, allows me these etymologies. Γράφειν produces γραφεῖον, R. *graf'yá*, the 'stylus' with which icon-painters draw contours upon the gesso ground. From *pisát'* comes *pis'mó*, the ordinary word for a 'letter', but specially used of the 'style or school' of icons. Less important varieties are called *poshib* (lit. 'stroke') =

'local or personal manners'. The equivalent Western words *stil'*, *shkóla*, *manéra*, came into Russian with Western painting but are often used of icons. E. H. M.

¹ In particular let me recommend both for exactness of observation and fullness of illustrations that admirable work of Gabriel Millet, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Évangile aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, 670 gravures, Paris, 1916. N. P. K.

The buildings were at first painted in accordance with the Greek custom, two porticoes joined by a wall or by a curtain making a conventional as it were pseudo-classical scene for the action to take place.¹ But even in the Nóvgorod style the buildings are different; churches appear and often local views (see Pl. XXX). More permanent was the vogue of the background in the shape of two mountains, one to the right supposed to be towards the east and illuminated by the rosy light of the sunset, the other to the west overspread with the on-coming darkness expressed by the complementary lilac or bluish reflexion. (Pl. IX gives the two mountains.) Usually these two mountains make up the desert as the Greeks understood it; they placed therein hermits (from ἔρημος), prophets, and holy men and made it the scene of the deaths of martyrs. But we shall see that even at Nóvgorod they drew the saints standing upon marble floors or on carpets, following in this Italian models; later come fields with flowers; as the buildings give place to views of the city, so the mountains become rounded hills. All these points serve to mark the various manners distinguished by the modern icon-painters.

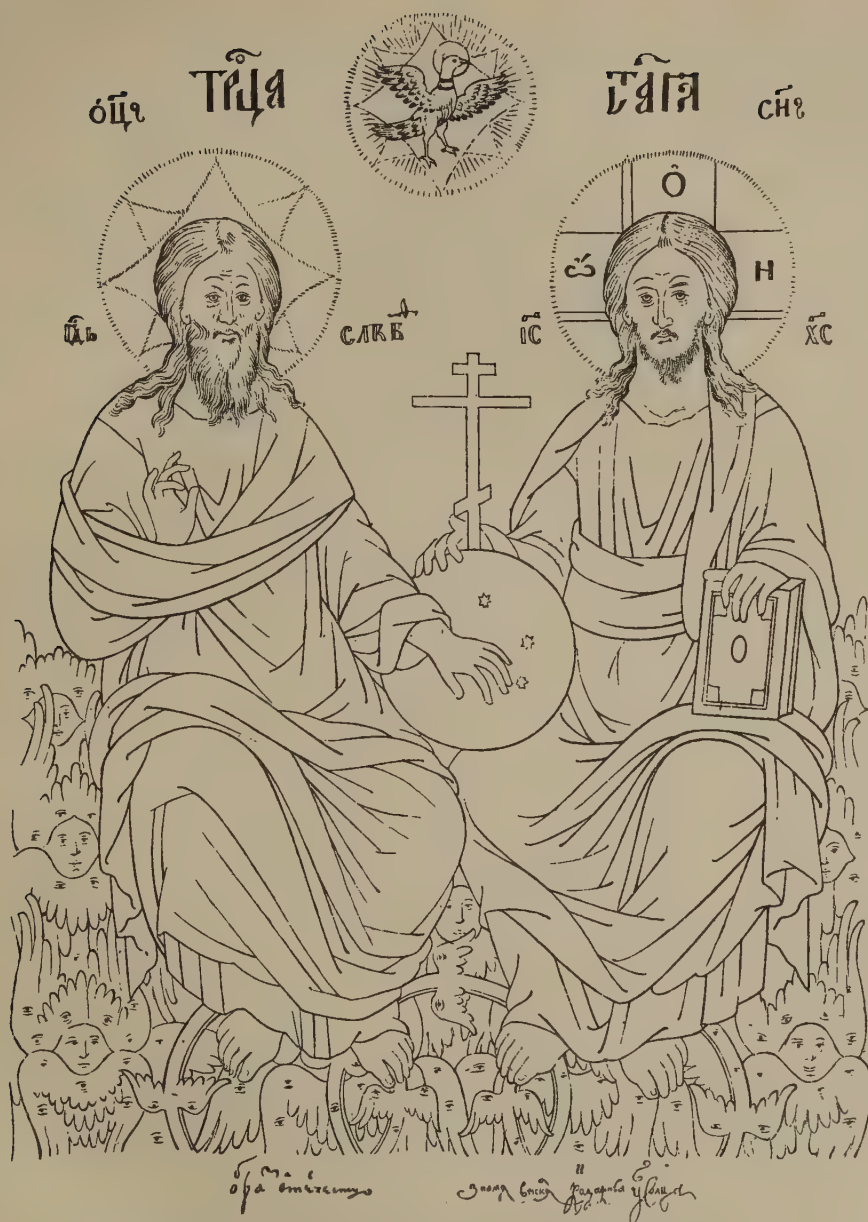
Be this as it may, the main thing is the actual drawing and the essence of this is the power to make the sketch or outline of the figure and face. Icon-painters have from early times, as it seems, divided this into the drawing of the face (*ličnoe* from *lik* or *litsó* 'face') and the preliminary drawing that comes before the face (*dolíchnoe*), i. e. the backgrounds and figures. The mere pupil (*dolíchnik*) who paints the preliminary part leaves the faces to be put in and the work finished by the skilled craftsman or face-painter (*ličnik*) even in detailed and many-figured icons, much more so in icons with only one figure.²

Moreover, from the sixteenth century on, the free painting which executed icons on wood and schemes of wall decoration, gave way to a certain extent to mechanical reproduction by means of tracings from icons pierced and pounced with soot which transferred the main lines of the drawing to the damp gesso. Such tracings, stencils, or patterns were collected by the painters and formed the basis of the *Litseye Pódlinniki*, of which the best was found in the remote monastery of Siysk towards Archangel. The pattern here illustrated is the work of Basil Kondakov of Usolye who collected many others.

¹ The very late Greek icon, Pl. L, may really be called pseudo-classical. On Pl. XIV the two towers and curtain wall in front of which S. George suffers so many things show this primitive scheme.

² For a similar division of labour under

Akbar vide Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, Oxford, 1924, p. 110. This is not the only point of resemblance between Russian and Indian art at that time.



PATTERN FOR AN ICON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT TRINITY: c. 1700.

It represents the composition called the *New Testament Trinity* and also *Paternity* and bears both titles.¹ It is copied from a design by the great icon-painter Simon Ushakov (*vide* p. 185), which appeared as the first Russian etching. Characteristically in tracing it has been reversed, God the Father should have Christ on his right, and the cross is clearly the wrong way round. It was probably traced from the centre of a great composition of the *Creed* or the *Last Judgement*. These patterns often have indications of the colours to be used on different parts. The design is originally Western, and the representation of the dove is most peculiar.² It might be thought that such a mechanical copy gave no scope for change, and of course in these reproductions the Greek design preserves its general character. But the human hand has to go over the whole of the mechanical copy and in course of time the copy or reproduction suffers change.

We see in the wall-paintings of Kiev, Pskov, Nóvgorod, and Ládoga how different are the types, costumes, and trappings from the true Byzantine originals, and we are right in seeking their originals not in the monuments of Constantinople but in the work on the Balkan peninsula, in Asia Minor, and even in the productions of Greco-Oriental icon-painting. Evidently the earliest Russian icon-painting worked in two manners: one a severe, definite, and plastic manner close to Byzantine (Constantinopolitan) art in its refined style of the tenth to twelfth centuries, and another broad and simple with straight vertical folds of the drapery and coarse patches of red upon the pale cheeks of the faces.

By the end of the fourteenth century the Russian icon has reached its full stature and at the same time it takes on such different manners that we can distinguish them well, guiding ourselves by a certain basis common to the different branches and then marking off the more definite types and establishing their models. The Byzantine drawing had by now fallen to pieces and with its exaggerated refinements it had become unintelligible to the craftsmen and beyond their execution: but it just happened that the early Greco-Oriental models had simplified the design and worked out a new scheme: how far this was the case we can see by comparing the complicated folds of the Apostles' clothing, *chiton* and *himation*, in Byzantine icons and the same in Russian icons of the fourteenth

¹ After N. P. Kondakov, *Iconogr. of Our Saviour*, lith. 9. Inscr. above, 'Holy Trinity, Father, Son, the Lord of Sabaoth, IC. XC': below, *Obráz Otechestvo*, 'Icon of Paternity'. *Znamya Vasiliya? Kondakova Usoltsa*, 'drawn by Basil Kondakov of Usolye'.

² I added this to the author's selection of plates because it illustrates the ways of icon-painters and affords an example of perhaps the most important composition which he had not included. E. H. M.



VII. 1. S. THOMAS THE APOSTLE
XIV cent. Pages 45, 65, 79



VII. 2. S. NICHOLAS OF MYRA
XVI cent. Page 47

to sixteenth centuries. A whole series of half-figures of Our Lord preserves the Byzantine type but has changed the ordinary drawing of the drapery: on Our Lord's left shoulder there hangs down in the form of a triangle a corner of the *himation* thrown under that shoulder when the cloak was draped round the body from behind, whereas that angle should have been covered in its turn by the last end of the cloak thrown round over the shoulder: so the natural order has been disregarded for the sake of effect. Further, at the edge of the right arm a saint's *himation* makes a tiny segment which ought either to go to the left shoulder or be thrown under the arm and pass across the chest, but it is not clear quite how it goes. We shall see what new and complicated difficulties arise from Byzantine drawing of drapery as remodelled by Rublëv in imitation of the Greek Theophanes. But the drawing of the Nóvgorod icons of the fifteenth century is quite different and indeed rude: to compare it with the magnificent if contorted figures of the wall-paintings is to bring us from an artistic world to one of mere journeymen.

Let us take the half-length of *S. Thomas*¹ which at first sight looks Byzantine in style, so much are the *chiton* and *himation* 'broken up' by a series of folds, angular, tight and dry, and so much are these folds covered with bright planes and these planes emphasized by high lights of white lead. Further, the hand painted as in the Greek icons in the act of blessing, the sturdy broad-shouldered body, the youthful head with its sharp oval, and the line round the eyes, everything is Greek. But against this all is stiff like pupils' work, the figure has clearly no chest, the drapery is, as it were, hung on the back of a chair or cut out of tin-plates, some of the folds quite unintelligible, and the head is too small for the body.

What a difference there is in the figure and drapery of the *Archangel Gabriel* (Pl. XIV. 2) in the Russian Museum, which, however, belongs to the early fifteenth century and is part of the *Deesis* tier of the old iconostas in the Súzdal' Cathedral. The body has delicately sloped shoulders, unlike the ordinary Byzantine type; yet the face keeps the characteristic Attic oval, but is bent downwards in deep thought. Unlike the Byzantine the drapery is all soft with wide folds. Clearly we have before us a new style using the forms of the Greek iconography, the style of the Italian *trecento*; hence the feminine look of the Archangel, his hair done in thick locks like a woman's. The technique of the actual painting is quite different, the lighted planes are few and not sharp, fine gradations of half-tones model the

¹ Pl. VII. 1. Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΘΟΜΑΣ: remains of a later layer of painting and inscription appear on each side.

folds and the whole manner is already 'fused' (*vide* p. 120) as it will be in the sixteenth century.

These are one or two examples of transitional manners of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries: there is no need for the moment to go through the different varieties of Byzantine, Russo-Byzantine, or Greco-Oriental icons, nor yet the local Russian schools of Nóvgorod and Súzdal', nor to touch on the special points of drawing in the icons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When we come to these groups in their historical order their varieties will appear of themselves. Now we only wish to show that in judging of the drawing in icons we must fix our attention not on what it has in common with the Byzantine, but on the historical distinctions and changes.

Artistic drawing is not only the expression of its epoch and the influences dominant therein, but also of its nation and place. The history of art which puts before us in historical development Italian, French, and German drawing shows us that drawing must be national and likewise individual: but it is so very much more complicated than, say, handwriting, that we can often do no more than observe the national type in a drawing. When we come to the icon with the knowledge that there is a mechanical copy underlying every considerable drawing, we might expect to have to give up all search for national character, whereas even in the drawing we do perceive national traits and this opens to us a very special side of the craft which brings it into very close connexion with a true art.

The Russian icon-painter set himself the task before everything else of precisely imitating his Greek model: giving no play either to his pupil or to himself he tried to make an exact copy. From the sixteenth century on we hear how the icon-painters sought this model; it made them buy old icons, it forbade any venture to paint even small details in their own fashion instead of the Greek, for instance the contour of the eyes: they were afraid to begin any innovation lest it should be a ground of accusation against them. Yet all the while the icon was getting a national tinge, and often it was the head and face which showed it first, next the figure, and only towards the end in a period of decline is there any change in the clothing, the ancient conventional raiment being modified by new influences. The changes of course affect the less prominent details: for instance, while the curly hair of S. George survives as a characteristic point of the saint (Pls. XII, XXV), the slight wave in that of S. Nicholas may be gradually lost (Pls. VII. 2, XLVIII).

If then we are asked the source and cause of such a change in

the characteristic Greek types, we can point first of all to the series of miraculous and specially revered icons. You might think that these were just the ones which would be most exactly copied, but as a matter of fact it is in these that we find most frequently and most clearly a change of the type. It is evident that, in accordance with a custom which early gained acceptance, patrons were almost always inclined to choose for their own devotion some miraculous icon that they specially revered and knew very well, that is to say, a copy or likeness of it. Such icons would be copied more often than others, and more often than in the case of others would a mere copy serve as a model, and so the process of modification was with them especially swift. The human hand as it follows the stencil mechanically traced from the original tends to modify its lines after its national character and even after a definite manner of icon-painting which suggested to the painter definite features of the iconic type.

If we take the type of *S. Nicholas Thaumaturgus*, whose innumerable Russian icons show evident signs of Greek tradition, this tradition can be exemplified and confirmed by a whole series of early Byzantine pictures in wall mosaic (Daphni, S. Luke in Phocis, S. Sophia at Kiev), and portable mosaic (Stavro-Nikita,¹ Kiev Theological Academy, replicas in the Khanenko Collection at Kiev (xi-xii c.), and also at Burtscheid near Aachen).

The points that distinguish the type of S. Nicholas make him sturdy of build, spare of flesh, grey, but still virile : his head rather square, his face a broad oval, short hair with a wave in it, a small round beard, a high open forehead, a severe but restful expression. He is vested in a *felón'* (Pl. VII. 2 [S.] Nikola) : in later examples he wears the *sakkos* with crosses upon it and the *omofór*. Nóvgorod icons follow the miraculous copy honoured in the cathedral of Nicholas-in-the-Court (*na dvórnitsê*) at Nóvgorod and vest the saint in a *felón'*. The Moscow icons apparently go back to the miraculous image of Nicholas of Zaráysk, which according to tradition was brought from Korsún' in A.D. 1224, and shows the saint in a *sakkos*.² The former

¹ Kondakov, *Athos*, p. 105, Pl. xiv. This icon seems to be that seen in the eleventh century by the Nóvgorod pilgrim Antony among the holy things of Constantinople : he calls it 'Nicholas split forehead', from the damage it has suffered : another copy of the same type is at Vich in Catalonia : *ib.*, p. 108, f. 50 ; *Mon. Piot*, vii, 1900, p. 95, Pl. xi.

² For these vestments see A. Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, pp. 405 sqq.

The *felón'*, *φαινόλιον*, *paenula*, is the chasuble at first made of soft stuff : when made of stiff material it was for convenience shortened in front instead of being cut away at the sides as in the West. A special variety of *felón'* was entirely covered with a pattern of crosses (*polístávrî*) ; this was reserved for bishops : the *sakkos* is of the shape of a Western dalmatic, i. e. slit up the sides and with sleeves ; originally peculiar to the patriarch, it is now worn by all bishops ;

icon is Greek, the latter a Russian copy from the Greek. The main type has been preserved but the face in Russian icons has been Russianized and in some cases shows the Nóvgorod type. Further, in the older icons the folds are more strict and correct, in later ones they get confused and tightened. Evidently the painter entirely fails to understand the folds of the light woollen stuffs of which the *felón'* was made: further he does not distinguish between the *felón'* and the *himation* and makes the folds of the *felón'* vertical in accordance with his scheme for the *himation*.

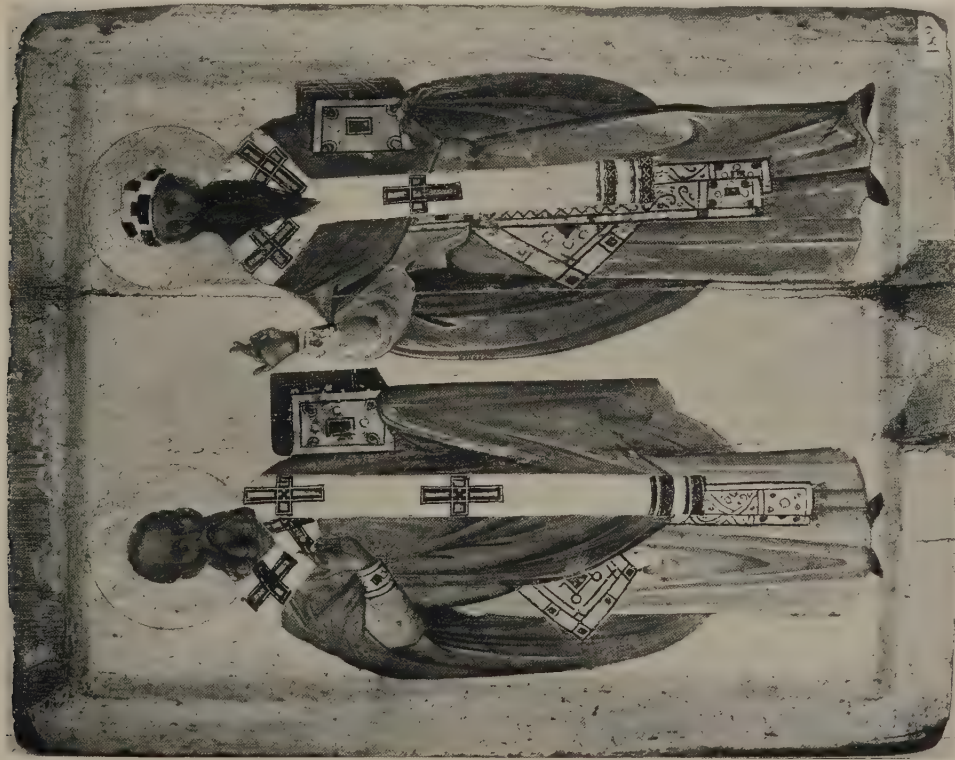
Russian icon-painting, however, passed through certain periods when its schools had practically no models to follow, or it had no other icon craftsmanship but that of bands of journeymen either wandering on their own account or specially invited to execute the wall-painting of a church, and, that done, to make the iconostas. How, at such times, did the local craftsmen with no models and no schooling get on? Yet this was the position of Nóvgorod in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when it had to content itself almost exclusively with its own craftsmanship: it was only at the end of the fifteenth century that it could develop it by means of models from outside. What happened we can see from two icons in the Russian Museum representing two Fathers of the Church, SS. *Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria*, who have festivals on the same day (18 Jan.) and are therefore portrayed together. Both icons date from the end of the fifteenth century, but one¹ is of Greek work, the other² a Nóvgorod copy of an original almost similar to the former. True the Russian copyist has put both patriarchs into the *sakkos* (*polistávri*) instead of the *felón'* of the original, and simplified the adornments of the *omofór*, stole, and *epigonation*, but he has painted the under vestment after the Greek model and preserved perfectly the shape of the heads and features, though changing the position of the figures about. A curious detail is that the Russian

but it does not commonly appear upon early icons; it is worn by S. Alexis in the seventeenth century (Pl. LV). The actual *sakkos* of S. Photius is figured by Millet, ap. Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, III. ii, p. 957. Our author appears to use *sakkos* in the sense of *polistavri*, the vestment in which nearly all bishops are portrayed. On Pl. VIII. 1 both saints wear the *felón'*: on Pl. VIII. 2 both wear the *polistavri*, very well shown on Pl. XXI. 1, 2. S. Nicholas wears the latter on Pl. XLVIII. The *omofór* is the *pallium* that is worn over

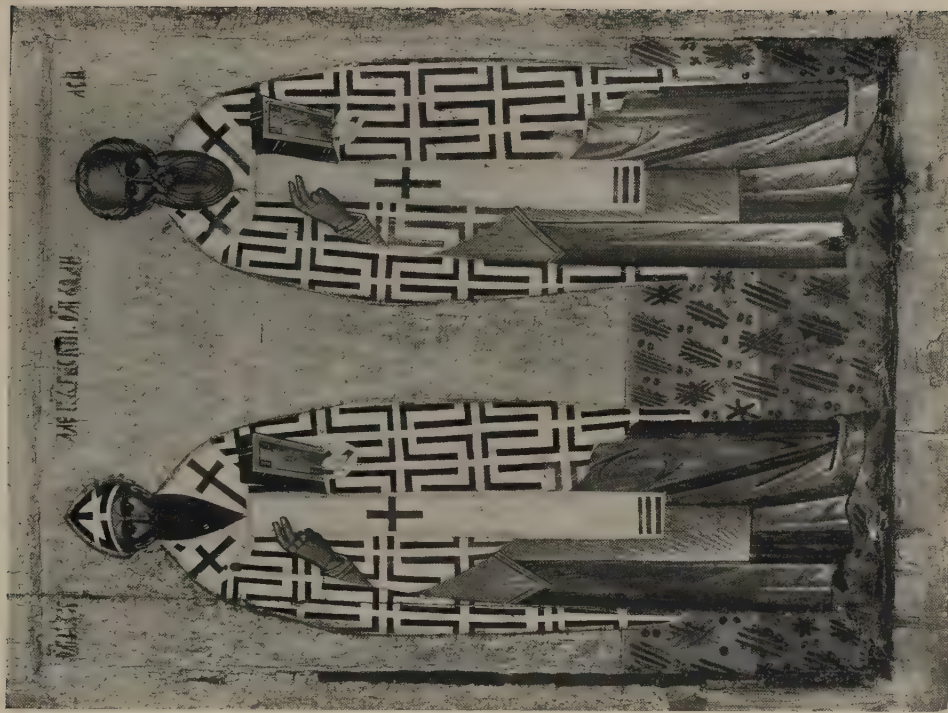
either. Under it shows the *epitrakhil'* or stole; on the dexter side the *pálitsa*, *epigonation*, hangs from the unseen zone, which confines the *stikhar'* (στικχάριον) corresponding to the alb. The *stikhar'* with the *orar'*, his special form of stole, is the only vestment of the deacon on Pl. XXXVII.

¹ Pl. VIII. 1. Inscr. ὁ ἄγ. ᾽Αθαν[άσιος]. ὁ ἄγ. [Κύρι]λλος.

² Pl. VIII. 2. Ο ΑΓΙ ΚΙΡΗΛ ΑΛΕΚΣΑ- (Ν)ΔΡΗΣΚΗΙ Ο ΑΓΙ ΑΘΑΝΑΧ.



VIII. 1. SS. ATHANASIOS AND CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA
Greek School. XV cent.



VIII. 2. SS. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA AND ATHANASIOS
Novgorod School. XV cent.

icon-painter has kept the ancient two-fingered position of the saints' right hands in blessing, whereas the Greek has followed Byzantine iconography which, except in the case of the Saviour, avoids the three-fingered form and adopts the position of the fingers which expresses the name of Christ. This preservation of the ancient attitude of blessing in the Russian Church is very important historically, the testimony of icons being a support to the schismatics who refused to accept this among other innovations of the Patriarch Nikon.¹

But in the Russian icon the figures have, as it were, deadened under the hand of the mere journeyman: all the free mastery of the Greek artist has vanished; no trace is left of the subtle expression of the saints' sideways glance, nor of the variety in the way the hands are held up in blessing: the spirituality and intelligence shown in the faces of two of the greatest teachers of the Church have given way to a gloomy and parched asceticism. We cannot, however, deny a certain adaptation of the faces to the Russian type and a restrained simplicity about the whole in place of the Greek affectation. In fine we might come to the conclusion that we have to do with a Russian copy of rude journeyman's work, but this would be mistaken: the icon itself gives a definite indication that it comes from the best Nóvgorod painting-shop.

We find this indication in the characteristic pattern of the field upon which the two figures stand, sprays, rods, and dots disposed in a regular order form a carpet pattern. Exactly this kind of pattern occurs on a whole series of particularly well-painted icons in the Russian Museum and elsewhere (e.g. Prince Shirinski-Shikhmatov's collection). They were copied from Italian icons which followed the religious pictures of the Italian masters of the *quattrocento*.

To judge of how the drawing changes in a rough journeyman copy let us compare the remarkably artistic Greek icon of the *Prophet*

¹ One of the differences between Greeks and Latins was the position of the fingers in blessing: the earlier Greeks folded down the thumb, fourth and fifth fingers and by extending 'two fingers' (*doupéristie*), the index and middle finger, symbolized the dual nature of Our Lord (Pl. VIII. 2), cf. *Mon. Piot*, vii (1900), pp. 95, 96. The Latins put thumb, index and middle together to typify the Trinity. The Greeks later adopted a pose whereby the four letters IC XC were formed by the five fingers; this was called *imenoslóvnoe*, 'name-word'. In the seventeenth century Nikon, Patriarch

of Moscow, finding that many errors had crept into the Slavonic service books reformed them to the norm of the contemporary Greek, but in many cases, such as this of the blessing, the Russians had preserved the more ancient usage. The innovations caused a great schism in the Church and were only forced upon it by the power of the State. The Old Believers who refuse still to accept them, had a special reverence for ancient icons, and to them is due the preservation of many most important examples (see *infra*, pp. 94, 190).

*Elias*¹ with the Russian icon of the Nóvgorod school (R. M. III, 148). Of course the Russian icon is only in a sense a distant copy of the Greek one; its immediate model was a journeyman Greek icon of which many were painted in the Greek Orient and in the Balkans, just as they were at Nóvgorod and in the north of Russia. The scene represented is the flight of the Prophet into the desert in accordance with the word of the Lord (1 Kings xvii), and his being fed by ravens at the brook Cherith. The painter has combined in one all the other places in the Bible that tell of how Elijah took refuge in the desert from the wicked deeds and persecutions of Ahab and Jezebel, and represents him in a moment of pain and grief when he has turned round at a slight noise and sees the raven bringing him a small loaf: the picture goes back to miniatures in Bible MSS. Between two lofty rocks in the mountains, at the mouth of a deep cave, the wearied prophet has sat down in deep dejection leaning his head on his hand. Suddenly he hears the noise of the raven's wings, turns his head and sees the raven, but is not surprised at it and his left arm still rests quietly upon his knees.

Both the rocks and the clothes of the prophet are rightly coloured in shades of brown and only the shaly slabs of rock are picked out with complementary pale green shadows and whitish high lights. In Nóvgorod painting these slabs with cleavage planes are preserved as the regular thing and are called 'little heels' (*pyátóchki*). The pale blue lights on the edges of the folds of the chiton bring out the relief of the figure strongly. Above the chiton is thrown a sheepskin (*μηλωτή*) fastened round the throat. Extremely characteristic is the rendering of the heavy massive body, the bony and muscular frame of the tall ascetic: his shaggy hair falling down to his shoulders and his beard spreading out on both sides harmonize with his sunburnt brick-red face and small head. The general type can only be compared with the well-known type of S. John the Baptist in Greco-Russian icon-painting and perhaps also with S. Jerome in Leonardo's picture, where he put on the first coat of brown for the anchorite's body and then probably left the picture as it were purposely unfinished. The comparison of a Greek original with its later copies will teach much about the Russians: especially it will make clear to us the simplification of the original which comes about when a journeyman tries to do cheap work. Such is the case in the scheme of rocks and ledges, in the pose of the figure and the drawing of chiton and sheepskin, in the roughness of the face with the head scarcely indicated. But there is one new and characteristic point: the right arm is

¹ Pl. IX, Russian Museum, No. 3064. Inscr.: ὁ προφήτης Ἠλίας.



IX. THE PROPHET ELIAS

Greek School. XV cent.

pressed closely to the breast. So we get a less remote, a more familiar figure of a pious abbot who, not without almost reckoning on it, is accepting the miracle of God's gift. Vanished is the prophet, the great eremite, his moments of grief and despair, vanished too is the special mark of his deep faith and with it the artistic beauty of the icon.

Colouring and Pigments in Russian Icon-painting

Just as the philological way of studying remnants of antiquity has given way to the archaeological, so now in the history of painting the time has come for a full study beginning with the theme and the drawing and ending up with the colours. Now that the technique of reproduction in colours has eliminated the hand and become entirely photographic and mechanical, the time has come for science to take into account the historical succession of colouring and pigments and accordingly to make in icon-painting a satisfactory distinction between different schools (*pis'mó*. *Vide* note on p. 40.)

Russian icon-painters still distinguish in the history of their craft various schools, Nóvgorod, Pskov, Early Moscow, Stróganov. They base the distinctions upon the colouring, more exactly the flesh tints (in the language of icon-painting (*v*)*okhrénie* 'ochre coat'), which are defined as bright, pale, red, or dark. Further an icon-painter after specifying the ochre-coat pays attention to the tone of the *sankír* 'flesh priming', as he calls the ground coat under all bodies and faces, covered indeed by the ochre layer but appearing in places as a fundamental shadow tint. The reason for this is clear: being unable to study all the details of the drawing the icon-painter fixes on the visible details of *okhrénie* just as formerly students of the history of Western painting likewise paid special attention to fine shades of difference in the flesh tints. In both cases this method fails to furnish enough to go on, and in important cases connoisseurs study the drawing of hands and fingers, ears and such like to find proofs of their ascription of a painting or drawing to a particular artist. At this point we must recall what has already been said of how the basis of the icon is to be sought in a natural portrait painted for quickness' sake by the encaustic or wax process. We know further that the progress of this form of painting was a striving for depth and richness of colouring and also an airy softness of tint in order to gain for the portrait its life-like impression, its warmth of flesh tints, and the attractive force of the eyes with their look either penetrating or reflective. The contrasted shadows on the cheeks, brow, and nose, and the bright surfaces on the folds of the draperies gave wax-

painting full opportunity for rendering a close observation of nature. First a dark tone was laid on, next the shadows put in with a contrasting light blue and the two patches with their different colours and values were softened by the hot iron, pressed out, to some extent mixed, and this very softening process did away with the sharp edges of the first laying on and blended the tones into a general harmony. The laws of icon-painting demand the same effects, but with the egg or tempera technique they can only be attained in a solid fashion by a long process of laying on one coat after another in gradually heightened tones.¹

As early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the well-known treatise by the monk Theophilus on various arts deals in the first chapter with the mixture of colours for the production of flesh tints, that is, the *okhrenie*, and this colour made up of white lead, vermilion (cinnabar), red ochre, black, &c., he calls *membrana*. In this complicated receipt, with its directions as to what should be mixed with which and what must be added later, the part which interests us most is the first coat, which is made of white lead burnt until it gives a yellow or greenish (*prasinum*) colour.² This is precisely the darkish, greenish-olive coat which both in miniatures and in icon-painting of the Greco-Italian school forms the first coat and underlies the flesh tint made of a mixture of white lead and vermilion, burnt red ochre, and red lead. The green shows at the edges round the oval of the face and along the nose and makes the shadow: it is for the tenth to thirteenth centuries the mark of Byzantinism in painting. The Greek Painters' Guide of Dionysius of Fournas shows that the *proplasma*s of Panselinos might likewise be called *okhrenie*, being made of white lead, ochre, and green with an addition of black.³ Flesh colour when lighted is made of white lead and red

¹ It is hardly necessary to recall that the basis of the painting is a layer of gypsum and glue (gesso) spread upon the wood: Dionysius (see n. 3) gives directions (§ 5, 6). Sometimes the wood is first covered with linen: cf. Theophilus, I. xix. See the editions by Hendrie (1847) and Ilg (1874), with English and German translations.

² As I read it, the *membrana* (Hendrie reads *membrina*) or first coat was of yellow burnt white lead, natural white lead, and cinnabar or red ochre: if the face was ruddy, more red; if white, more white; if pale, *prasinum* was added. While the shadows were put in over this with *posch*,

a mixture of *membrana* with *prasinum*, burnt red ochre, and a little cinnabar. Next the rosy tints were applied, and afterwards *lumina* for the high lights by an admixture of white. E. H. M.

³ *Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς Τέχνης*, p. 20, § 16. This guide to the practice on Mount Athos gives a wonderfully full account of both technical processes and iconography: it is translated in Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne*, 1845, Eng. trans. omitting technical first part, 1886: under the influence of the monks and of the famous forger Simonides, Didron referred the guide to the fourteenth or fifteenth century and Manuel Panselinos, who is quoted as the model

ochre ; the region of the eyes beginning with the dark sinking of the orbit is done in black mixed with ochre or umber with red ochre. The Russian Painters' Guide (*Pódlinnik*) under the heading 'how to paint the faces of icons' gives the following receipt : 'To make *sankir*, ochre and black : to make the first coat of ochre for faces, mix in white lead, vermilion and red : for the second coat make the ochre lighter : to make shadows mix in a little black and put the shadows in.' The icon-painters distinguish in various styles *sankir* of various shades and compositions, but agree in denoting by it a dark tint serving as the ground colour for flesh, yet they do not know the origin and meaning of the word. But clearly *sankir* is a corruption of *σάρκινος* from *σάρξ*. Dionysius uses *σάρκα* (all cases) for 'flesh colour', and *σαρκώνω* for 'painting flesh' ; so *sankir* is exactly *carnation*.

A second criterion of different schools the modern icon-painters themselves find in the so-called *ozhivki* (from *ozhivát*, 'to enliven'), a special kind of whitish high lights which in the form of fine curly or hooked lines of a pale mixture of colours or even actual white 'enliven' the light places by the eyes, on the forehead, nose, lips, &c., and even on the joints of the fingers. Frequent use of these distinguishes the severe Greek manner of the old schools and undoubtedly their number decreases century by century from the fourteenth to the seventeenth, though they continue to survive right through the course of Russian icon-painting as an accepted convention. As a matter of fact these *ozhivki* rarely add to the real effect of the painting by bringing out the appearance of high relief ; they merely make the surface spotty and are connected in one's mind with the severe school. Even in the seventeenth century in the big independent icons they cover the prescribed places on the muscles about the eye and upon the forehead with rows of fine patches of pigment, as it were a luxuriance of finicking work without need or sense. In such close-set rows they receive from the icon-painters the name of *dvizhki* (from *dvígat*, 'move'). A great many such little patches in the case of an icon of poor execution gives a look of boniness to faces, fingers, and limbs.

We have already seen that in contradistinction to the encaustic painting with its rich deep¹ tones there existed the parallel art of

artist, to the twelfth. Bayet, *Rev. Archéologique*, iii. 3 (1884), pp. 325-34, makes it probable that he worked in 1535 and that the guide, as we have it, belongs to the eighteenth century. See (modern Greek) preface to the best text published by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, St. P. 1909, to which I always refer ; cf. Diehl, *Manuel*,

p. 854 ; Dalton, *Byz. Art*, p. 649. But it gives a much more ancient tradition, as is shown by its frequent agreement with Theophilus. Our author says it existed in the fifteenth century and may go back to the fourteenth.

¹ *Sóchnýya*, lit. juicy, Fr. *juteux*.

wall-painting with its light tones: this occasionally passed into a mere 'colouring' or 'illumination' of the figures in flat tones with no gradation, that is to say, no real modelling of them or merely a faint lightening of the tones on the big folds of the drapery. This 'fresco' scale of light tones finds its way into icon-painting from time to time when the supply of truly iconic models fails, as for instance in the icon-painting of Nóvgorod and northern Russia. The pale style has its coat of pale ochre, whereas the rich colouring has red ochre.

The Greco-Italian icon-painting in the latter half of the fourteenth century and in the fifteenth had under the hands of Paolo and Lorenzo Veneziano and Catarino worked out a warm iconic colouring which gave rise later to the colouring of the great Giorgione. It was not merely the natural surroundings of Venice, the deep rich evening colouring of the Venetian lagoons, but also the decorative beauty of Greco-Oriental icons adopted by Greco-Italian icon-painting that, as we shall see below, provided the historical foundation for Venetian colouring. The earliest channels by which the lost period of Greco-Oriental painting exercised its influence were the Korsun' icons; next we have a series of icons with dark ochre flesh, and this is followed by a great influx of Greco-Italian, more particularly Venetian icons which awoke a lively movement in the Russian schools.

The unusual phenomenon of two-coloured reflexes in Greco-Italian and Nóvgorod icon-painting was observed so long ago as the time of D. A. Róvinski; not of course as 'reflexes' or reflexions of complementary light on the folds of drapery, but as a 'special form of high light' (*probél*)¹ produced not with white but with other colours. So, following the directions of the Russian *Podlinnik*, he remarks that in Nóvgorod work of the sixteenth century on a garment coloured maroon (*bakán*) the folds are streaked with blackish green (*prázelen*', see p. 57). But when he describes light blue garments as *lightened* (*probéleny*) with maroon and dark blue with purplish red (*bágor*) he is in error. His mistake is due to *probél* being essentially a lightening whereas the dark red tints are used for shadows and not for bright areas. We know something of this practice of using brown colours for drapery with bluish reflexes as far back as the early Christian mosaics in Cyprus, the church of S. Praxed at Rome, on Our Lady's raiment in the chapel of Venantius in the Lateran, &c.² Even the Italian fresco of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries knows the use of greenish reflexes on reddish draperies, still earlier

¹ This is from the root of *bély* 'white' and suggests 'white showing through'.

² Kondakov, *Iconography of B.V.M.*, i (1914), pp. 321-3.

in S. Angelo in Formis in the Neapolitan Campagna where it comes from the Greek Orient.¹ It is important to bear in mind that in the true Byzantine miniatures and frescoes reflexes in complementary colours are not encountered; here reigns the ordinary system of high lights (*probél*).

The icon-painters are therefore right from an historical point of view in basing the distinctions they draw between various styles and manners (*póshib*, a smaller class than *pis'mó*) in Russian icon-painting upon colours, for the colouring really is the criterion of independence and creativeness. As a matter of fact it is most important to realize that I, for instance, know of only one single Russian icon which is an absolute copy of a *Greek* original. This is the icon of the *Nativity of Our Lord* in the church at Pskov: it is exactly like a Greek icon in the Russian Museum; the only difference is in the inscriptions. Naturally such copies if they did exist were only single examples: all other icons were executed in various painting-shops by means of tracings. Besides we see nowadays that icon-painters learn the drawing and the colouring of one particular manner and are bound to paint just in that manner and no other: only craftsmen trained to paint in other manners (called *podstarínshchiki* because they paint *pod starínu* 'archaistically') can copy old icons. For an exact copy of an ancient icon you must go to a *podstarínshchik* or, better, not to an icon-painter at all but to an ordinary artist.

Finally, all through the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries we find no such adoption of Greek or rather Byzantine colouring as we do in the twelfth and thirteenth: nor do they quite adopt the colouring of the Italo-Cretan icons. One can always tell a Russian icon easily. The master or pupil makes up his colours himself. First he mixes raw yolk of egg with thin *kvas* (rye beer) or water, and drops a little of this mixture which starts rather yellow, into ten or fifteen gallipots, and in these he dissolves his colours, as he has need. The craftsmen of Mstëra or Palëkh, the icon-painting villages of Vladímir, can distinguish in which of their painting-shops an icon was done. When he puts before a customer samples of his colours a painter now offers twenty-four or more: ochre, *sankír*, light *sankír*, *sankír* with white lead, black, *bágor*, *bágor* with white, sky colour, *prázelen'*, white lead with chrome, white lead, *reft'*, *golubéts*, green, *dich'*, azure.

Exactly to define these colours which have in the West passed into history would be difficult and it is not worth while: it would be easier to give a coloured plate with a reproduction of them all.

¹ Salazaro, *Studi sui Monumenti d'Italia Meridionale*, 1871, Pls. x-xv

But some general account of them may be given. The names of the colours and the general scale answer to the *Pódlinniki* and these go back to originals fixed about the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the *Podlinniki* we have enumerated *bágor* and *bakán*, two dark reds, the latter maroon, the other more purplish; they are called Venetian colours, Our Lady's cloak is of this colour in Italo-Cretan icons: *Venetian golubéts* is both dark and light blue (said to be a copper blue, verditer?); *Venetian yellow*, a bright chrome yellow; *Venetian cinnabar*, bright red vermilion; *lavra*, indigo; *azure*, ultramarine or its substitutes, coarse indigo (*kub*) or later Prussian blue; *mummy*, dark red; *umber*; *reft'*, dark grey with a blackish tinge; *sankir*, ochre and black (see above); *soot*; *red lead*; *chérvlen'*, crimson; *Venetian yar'*, verdigris (acetate of copper), light green; *prázelen'*, green with a bluish tinge. We can see clearly the dependence of Russian icon-painting upon the Venetian colours which were exported all over the East.

Very noticeable is the predominance of red in various tones, also how very important it is which of the different reds is used and how it is applied. Bright red is the distinguishing feature of the Nóvgorod, Pskov, and in general northern school; this is the colour of Russian folk dress (of the peasant's shirt, in *kumách*, what we call Turkey twill). It is from the north that the Moscow school derived its pink hills and buildings and the custom of brightening an icon with red patches of raiment.¹ When we remember that the words *miniator*, *miniatura* come from *minium* a red colour, we must believe that in this popular passion for red we see the action of popular as against sophisticated culture. It is well known that the precious cinnabar was brought from Persia and was long the privilege of royalty and its general use only spread with the close of the Middle Ages. Before then had come in various sorts of brownish red, *chérvlen'*, *bágor* and *bakán*, crimson or dark purplish red. By the shades of red one can judge of the age of an icon; very important in early icon-painting is the appearance of dark maroon or dark lilac purple.

Pure dark blue we no longer find in ancient Russian icons after the fourteenth century at Nóvgorod; both in icons and wall-paintings we only see *lavra* (indigo), blue with a greenish tinge. In Greek icons dark blue is used before the end of the fourteenth century, in Russia it only appears in the sixteenth. Both light and dark blue are called azure (*lázor'*): *vissón* (from βύσσινος, 'of fine linen' but used for 'silken') is the name for a dark lilac stuff shot with blue:

¹ In Russian the root *kras-* confuses inextricably the ideas of 'red', of 'paint' and of 'beauty'.

golubéts, a pale blue colour like modern cobalt, only comes in during the sixteenth century and in backgrounds is a sign of Western influence.

A very interesting colour is *prázelen*,¹ which includes not only green but various dark blue tones and indigo. It is the chief mark of Nóvgorod painting in the fifteenth century, being used very freely to take the place of light blue Greek draperies (see some figures on coloured Pl. XXXVI). It is noticeable that the very word is a corruption of the Greek term *πράσινον* used by the Byzantines for the green of grass and the juice obtained from leeks which has a green colour with a soft brown shade. This green colour has no body in it; it is liquid and transparent and combines very well with brown (it corresponds to *terra verde*). It is this colour which has most part in the high lights of draperies and in reflexes complementary to brick and chestnut browns.

Very characteristic is the receipt for making *prázelen* in the *Podlinnik*: 'steep peas for five days and more, pound them and mix with copper.' There were six sorts of *prázelen* used in Nóvgorod schools, some with yellowish shades, some with bluish. Also cakes of it were sold and these were just the same as *terra verde di Verona*. The delicate aery *prázelen* of a pale brownish green, harmonizing with chestnut red, makes the chief beauty of the Nóvgorod icons of the sixteenth century. The appearance of this tone contemporaneously with the colour brought into use by Paolo Veronese, but independent of him, raises the decorative effects of icon-painting.

Side by side with the refinements of Russian schools already discussed (high lights, reflexes, and the like) we must mention *ínokop*,² (or, as the icon-painters pronounce it, *íkonop*'), meaning originally *damascening*, inlaying, or encrusting, e.g. bronze with gold, and secondarily painted imitation of this effect. The original technique of etching bronze and plating it with gold or silver was applied in Constantinople especially to doors and we have examples at S. Sophia, on Athos, in Italy (Amalfi, &c.³) and in Russia (Nóvgorod, Súzdal', Moscow, Russian Museum). The imitation goes back as far as the Vatican MS. of the *Aeneid*, where we find gold hatching on the folds of drapery to bring out the high lights: the same occurs in Byzantine work and is particularly beloved at Siena by Duccio⁴ and his followers,

¹ *Zélen* in Russian is 'green colour': *pra* is a rare prefix suggesting antiquity, so *πράσινον* was modified to give a Russian sense.

² Codinus, *de Offic.* iv. 1, speaks of a staff made *μετὰ τῶν κόμβων ἰνoκοπητῶν*, which I take to mean 'with damascened

knops': the word may be a variant for *ἐγκοπτος*, 'hammered in'; or it may be compounded with *ἰς*, *ἰνός*, 'sinew = thread': see du Cange, *s. v.*

³ Dalton, *Byz. Art*, pp. 616–20.

⁴ e.g. the *Transfiguration* in the National Gallery, No. 1330.

and at Venice in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But in Italian icon-painting this was executed with a fine brush and gold mixed with gum, whereas in Russia it is still done by the old process of *inokop'* or *assistka* (from Italian *assisa*, 'size'): these terms both denote the following process. Along the surface of folds in drapery, the edges of rocks, trees, buildings, and in general any places which require strong high lights and so can be brought out with glints of gold, the artist draws a fine brush dipped in a slow-drying gum, just as if he were painting with gold solution. When he has gone over all the lines he applies gold leaf to the whole icon, or the necessary parts, gently rubs it over and leaves it to dry: later on with a downy goose feather he rubs off the gold leaf from where there was no gum and the gold remains as it were inlaid in long fine lines giving light to parts of the picture.

When it is a case of gold ground first they colour it all over with a priming (*pódpusk*) of red wine and then cover it with *poliment* made up of wax, egg, and red lead. This is done after all the picture is finished and makes the gold redder, like a sovereign. Pale silvery gold is the mark of the early Russo-Byzantine icons.

A curious peculiarity of icon-painting is the lighting of figures and scenes, absolutely conventional and faithful to an established scheme. Figures *en face* are lit from in front, not from above exactly, but slanting from one side; this throws enough shadow to bring out the modelling of the face and show up the lines which mark character. As is well known a top light is reckoned the best for pictures, but it is not exactly flattering for faces as it throws a sudden dark shadow in the orbits of the eyes and below the nose and lips, and gives a hard line under the chin; all this, however, adds force to the whole expression and brings out the character in the countenance. The slanting light is similar to what we have indoors; it gives an impression of rest without making the face and expression less characteristic. Further, in any composition the light comes from the (spectator's) left; this is the proper side for any one writing, and conventionally for figures walking in procession, entering or in any motion, also for figures sitting without action, and such figures are always turned towards the middle of the scene, that is, they look towards the spectator's right and the light comes from their left. So likewise to accord with the convention, if on the right-hand side of the icon there is a figure turned to the left towards the centre of the composition or towards a central figure (e. g. the Old Testament *Trinity*, Pl. XX) its illumination comes from the right, which obeys the same principle suited to a figure seen in three quarters.

The settings behind the figures are likewise illuminated from

the left, that is, the sun's light falls upon the hills or buildings that are on the right and makes them rosy, while those on the left remain in a lilac, dark green, or smoky shadow. We may remark as a matter of history that the older icons observe this rule more strictly than the later ones, particularly those of the seventeenth century when the traditions begin to be forgotten and the colours may be put on without meaning. We can be pretty sure that there was a meaning in the minds of the Greek painters who made up the compositions and that this was lost among their successors. As a matter of fact, if we take it that the movement of the composition was from left to right and that the light fell upon the mountains on the right, the first idea may have been a picture of mountainous desert under the rays of the setting sun. So the prophet or anchorite is thought of as coming out into his rocky desert just at sunset when a man's conscience naturally reviews the day past.¹

Moreover, the actual background of the icons is called by the Russian icon-painters the 'light' (*svét*). This light is the conventional colouring of the ground with its decorative intention, but it varies according to the meaning attached to the colour. So the fundamental 'light' is undoubtedly of gold and of course its original meaning was the shining brightness which should proceed from figures of Our Lord, Our Lady, and such like. But afterwards pale-gold, almost electrum, was seen to be the most decorative background on which figures could stand out. The more delicate the manner of painting became, the lighter and paler became this background covered with watery gold, so that it gets a silvery sheen or even becomes actually silver: finally it may become buff or as the old icon painters called it 'waxen'. This background is characteristic of the Russo-Byzantine icons of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (coloured Plate X and p. 63), and again for the first half of the sixteenth century, as one may see in the icon galleries of the Russian Museum.

In place of the gold ground common icons allow of an ochre or light yellow ground. Specially conspicuous is the red ground for the *Deesis* and Festivals, characteristic of the fourteenth century, in Russian, Greek, and Balkan icons alike: this has a purely decorative intention and takes the place of the ancient purple. Much later comes in the sky blue or light turquoise ground, both under Italian influence at the end of the sixteenth century.

¹ Such a pair of mountains we have in the S. Jerome of the National Gallery, No. 3543.

IV

THE XIITH TO XIVTH CENTURIES. SUZDAL' AND NOVGOROD. THE GRECO-ITALIAN SCHOOL

THE Russia which centred round Kiev has left us no icons of its most ancient period, the Russo-Byzantine as we may with perfect confidence call it in view of its complete subjection to the Byzantine style. All that we have is the rich series of hoards hidden in the soil of Kiev itself and its environs; they include all sorts of precious trappings from ancient icons, among them cloisonné enamels of a technique which though somewhat coarsened in local workshops may still astonish us.¹

There is just one icon that may be referred to the twelfth century, a *Dormition of the B.V.M.* in the Pechérskaya (Cave) Lávra at Kiev, but being specially venerated it is withdrawn from critical examination; it has certainly been repainted. The other icons which are counted ancient, the so-called *Our Lady of Igor*' in the Lavra and the *Nicholas Thaumaturgus* in S. Sophia, are of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. How little really ancient sanctities survive in the Kiev region is proved by the reverence paid to the Virgin of the Vydubitski monastery below the Lavra, which is nothing more than a little bronze folding cross with a figure of Our Lady, mounted in a large gilt frame.

There are also the legends of the first Russian icon-painter Alípi (Alypius) (*d.* A. D. 1114),² famous for his fasting, his poverty, and his humble toil together with his fellow toiler and fellow faster Gregory of the Lavra, but we have no icon to which we can point as an original of his work or even ever so remote a copy of it. The icon of *Our Lady of Vladímir* in the cathedral of Rostóv (Rostov near Yaroslávl') exhibits a composition of Our Lady and the Child which did not come in before the fourteenth century. On the Svêna in the Government of Orël there is an icon of *Our Lady flanked by*

¹ Kondakov, *Russian Hoards*, i (1896), Pls. 1-3, 6, 7, 9-11, 15-17; Tolstoy and Kondakov, *Russian Antiquities*, v (1897), pp. 100-35.

² M. and V. Uspenski, *Notes (zamêtki) on Ancient Russian Icon-painting*: i. S. Alypius; ii. Andrew Rublëv, Petersburg, 1901.

SS. Antony and Theodosius the founders of the Pecherskaya Lavra, said by tradition to go back to 1218, but this is most unlikely: the icon *The Queen did stand* in the Uspénski Cathedral at Moscow, ascribed to Alipi, is even of the sixteenth century.¹

Though Kiev can offer us no examples of Russo-Byzantine art except mosaics and frescoes (the latter mostly restored), Nóvgorod and Súzdal' have icons to show and we may be sure that the investigation of icon-galleries and monasteries will yield a sufficiency of material. The Nóvgorod school is no doubt at present much the more fully represented so far as numbers go, but for antiquity going back to Byzantine models it comes second to that of Súzdal'. This Súzdal' school supplied Moscow and since the sixteenth century even Nóvgorod and Pskov. As far back as the middle of the twelfth century it had adopted Byzantine models, technique, and draughtsmanship in all their purity and accuracy and to this day it has remained the leader of all branches and schools: no wonder that it produced Andrew Rublëv, Dionysius, Theodosius, and Procopius Chirin. Compared with this, Nóvgorod in the far north lay always out of the way and from the time of the Tartar invasion was cut right off from the south. It soon fell to the level of a mere provincial school in every sense of the word, losing guidance before it had succeeded in developing itself and sticking right through the fourteenth century to the reproduction of bad and clumsy models. If it had some early success in fresco it was due to the invitation given to Greek craftsmen, whose coming at the end of the fourteenth century brought about the high level of the fifteenth and sixteenth. It must, however, be allowed that the Tartar invasion condemned Súzdal' to two centuries of stagnation and its revival was due to the rise of Moscow. Nevertheless we shall find it easy to show that only the Súzdal' school retained a fine feeling for drawing icons and a mastery of colour.

The Súzdal' school was also ultimately based upon the wall-paintings of the many churches built in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the erection of their iconostases. Much was due to the princes of the Súzdal' region who were richer and better educated than the churchwardens of Nóvgorod and, as the Chronicle puts it, 'brought together craftsmen from all lands'. We can enumerate a dozen great churches built and decorated in this region between 1150 and 1233: but with the invasion of 1237 this luxuriant activity was frozen stiff and died. Churches and monasteries, palaces and towns were plundered and burnt and all the craftsmen fled away

¹ Novitski, *Hist. of R. Art*, i, p. 111, f. 70: for the subject see Pl. XLIX, p. 160.

to the far north or to the nearer west, Volhynia and Galicia. These provinces were in close cultural connexion with Kiev, central Russia, and the middle Volga as far as Great Bolgary. The Hypatian Chronicle under the year 1259 tells how Daniel, Prince of Galicia, summoned to work on the churches of Volhynia 'craftsmen from the Germans and the Tartars' and brought icons from Kiev and Óvruch. Prince Vladímir (*d.* 1287) furnished the icons of his newly built churches at Kaménets Podól'sk, Vladímir Volýnski, Przemyśl, Lutsk, and Brest with haloes and *tsáty* in gold and precious enamel 'a wonderful sight to see'.¹ Among them were icons of SS. Boris and Gléb such as we can still see on the binding of Mstislav's Gospels in the Archangel Cathedral at Moscow² and in other Russian cloisonnés. In time, when we can see with our own eyes the most remarkable among the ancient Súzdal' icons, that of *Our Lady of Bogolyúbov*, still preserved in the monastery there near Vladímir, we shall be able to tell how much of the twelfth century-original it preserves. The composition follows the pious Eastern custom; instead of the donor putting his own portrait up in a church (as was done in the West and also in S. Sophia at Kiev) he preferred to set up, in the central space of the church or among the fixed icons in the iconostas, the figure of Our Lady turned to her left and interceding for men before Our Lord. The icon has recently been cleaned,³ but even previously we could distinguish the severe Byzantine painting of the face in dark ochre, the typical treatment of the eyes, nose, and lips. Its measurements are against its coming from Byzantium; more likely it was painted on the spot. Our Lady's head recalls the *Hodegetria* in S. Maria Maggiore at Rome: her mantle is of a chocolate colour, which comes from the Grecian East; but most important for us is the remarkably severe though rather dry manner of drawing which recalls the work of Greece proper.⁴

On a level with this venerated icon we must now set the precious icon of SS. *Boris and Gléb* (Russian Museum, No. 2138, Pl. X),

¹ All this region was in race and religion one with the rest of Russia, its language was no doubt Ukrainian, but this had not diverged very far from the main stock: by coming under Lithuanian and Polish rule it has developed a separatism of language and religion (Uniate).

² Tolstoy and Kondakov, v, p. 47, f. 27.

³ Letter of G. O. Chirikov the icon-painter, *d.* 9 Oct. 1918. For the type see *Iconography of the B.V.M.*, ii (1915), pp.

298-301, ff. 166, 167. A copy is reproduced in Likhachëv's *Materials*, xcv, No. 167; a recent one is in the possession of A. H. Christie, Esq., E. Runton, Norfolk. The attitude is like Our Lady as George of Antioch prays to her at the Martorana, Palermo.

⁴ For Russian icons of the eleventh to twelfth centuries see Wulff-Alpatoff, pp. 71-85, esp. ff. 27-8, *Transfiguration and Resurrection* (R. M.), and *S. Michael* at Moscow, Martin Conway, *Art Treasures*, p. 44

laid open to investigation by skilful cleaning.¹ It seems that we may see in this one of the best specimens of the local work of Súzdaľ', being a copy of the icon that Antony, Bishop of Nóvgorod, who journeyed to Constantinople about 1200,² saw upon the walls of S. Sophia. Close to the high altar, on the right near the place where the emperors were crowned on their accession and where, according to tradition, Our Lady had herself prayed to her Son on behalf of the human race, was set a 'great' icon of SS. Boris and Glêb, 'and there they have painters'. So we learn that a large icon of the sainted Russian princes was set up for veneration close by the icon-painters' booth, established to paint and sell on the spot what was required by pilgrims and other clients, just such an arrangement as we still find in Italian picture galleries. But of course the original of this icon was Russian and we know of the setting up of icons of the two saints in the church where their relics were laid, and of the building of several churches dedicated to them as early as the twelfth century. Still our icon is so thoroughly marked by the full severity of the Byzantine manner that we must believe either that its maker was instructed in this school, or that even a Russian icon could be consummately recast in Constantinople and that from this model is derived the icon in the Russian Museum.

The pale gold ground, a sign of true Greek painting and the foundation of its beauty, covers in this icon a very narrow area: it was probably overlaid with a repoussé plate of silver gilt (as on Pl. XII and LI). Now that nearly all the gold has scaled off the ground is of a pale buff, so that it sets off most effectively the figures in their bright-coloured clothes rendered in a bold but flat manner without illumination of the reflexes, and the faces of a reddish tinge such as we find in Byzantine miniatures of the twelfth century.

The most interesting thing about the icon is that it is clearly a real portrait of the Russian princes: their individuality strikes one at once. The faces are of a Georgian or eastern Greek type, and according to some chronicles Boris and Glêb were sons of Vladimir by Anna, the daughter of Romanus II who traced his descent from the Armenian Arsacidæ, or else by a Bulgarian wife. Boris has long thick hair, Glêb's falls behind in rather feminine locks: this

¹ Boris and Glêb, sons of Vladímir the Great, to whom he left the principalities of Rostóv and Múrom in the north-east, were murdered in 1015 by their cousin Svyatopólk (the Accursed), who was in turn conquered by Yarosláv. They were no more martyrs than our Edward, King and

Martyr, but became popular and inseparable saints. The inscriptions are 'Boris [Ha]g[i]os, Glêb [Hagios]'.

² See the editions of this journey by P. I. Savvaitov, and more recently by Ch. M. Loparëv, published by the Orthodox Palestinian Society.

detail recurs in other icons and in the miniatures of Silvester's Miscellany (*Sbórník*) of the fourteenth century.¹ The slenderness of the waists is purposely exaggerated; it was a fashion throughout Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, no doubt brought in by the Orientals in the ninth and tenth centuries and kept up by the familiarity with the East due to the Crusades.

The princes wear the usual caps edged with sable and made of green and red silk counterchanged, embroidered with stars and edged with rows of pearls along the seams. Such caps, clearly of Oriental origin, were in use in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries not only in Russia but in the Slavonic countries of central Europe: we find them, for instance, on the frescoes of S. Boleslav in Bohemia. Both princes wear tight eastern kaftáns (the Byzantine *καββάδιον*): Gléb's is of a dark mauve (*bakán*) adorned with golden figures of griffins and eagles alternating with lilies and palmettes: that of Boris is red (vermilion) and covered merely with palmettes. Above their kaftans they wear cloaks properly called *kóržno*, the general term for the warm upper garments of the northern nations, lined with fine white fur, ermine or squirrel. Their high boots are of red 'Russia' leather adorned with golden fleurs-de-lis and strings of pearls such as were assigned to the rank of 'Despot' at the Byzantine court. The hilts and sheaths of their swords are of the ceremonial pattern: in their hands they bear the cross of martyrdom. Special importance attaches to the eagles and griffins on Gléb's kaftan (not easily distinguished on the Plate). They may be closely paralleled by the clothes of the Emperor in the frescoes of S. Cyril at Kiev² and of the Grand Prince Yaroslav in S. Saviour's (*Spas*) on the Nereditsa at Nóvgorod (1198),³ and further by various representations of Emperors, Despots, and other highest ranks of the Byzantine court, but specially in the antiquities of Súzdal', such as the reliefs on the cathedral of S. Demetrius at Vladimir⁴ or the little silver roundels from ancient vestments preserved in the Pokróvski monastery at Súzdal'.⁵ The pose, both of the griffin courant with open jaws and the eagle or other big bird preening his feathers with his beak, is taken from models displayed on the Súzdal' buildings, though ultimately we can follow it right back to the antiquities of Scythia and Siberia. This is the source of the characteristic fold in the

¹ Published by I. Sreznevski, P. 1860.

A fifteenth-century MS. life with pictures is published by N. P. Likhachëv, P. 1907; he adds plates of several icons.

² Tolstoy and Kondakov, iv, p. 165, f. 150.

³ *Ib.*, vi, p. 145, f. 185.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 27, ff. 49-56.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 92, cf. p. 93, f. 115, from Moscow: Dalton, *Byz. Art*, pp. 583 sqq.



X. SS. BORIS AND GLÊB
Suzdal School. XIV cent.

beast's upper lip.¹ At the same time we may point out that the figures of griffins and birds, executed in *inokop'* (*vide* p. 57) right across the folds, as if they were woven into or embroidered upon the material, have a specially Oriental character : for while the Byzantines generally put their animals into definite roundels, this stuff all embroidered with beasts, birds, and plants, conventionalized though they be, gives us the picturesque effect of a carpet adorned after the Eastern fashion with a garden (*paradise*) or hunting scene.²

Not less important for us is the actual method of painting which is as different from the early Nóvgorod manner as picture-painting is from icon-painting : here we have in the faces and hands real modelling of the muscles and tones of the body : the high lights are put in softly, the red of the cheeks is blended right into the *sankir*, the first coat of flesh colour, and gives its colour to the dark sunburnt faces and swarthy skin. Compared with this the Nóvgorod icon of *S. Thomas* (Pl. VII. 1), likewise painted after the Byzantine manner, gives us lifeless flesh tints, a mere scheme for the face, coarse high lights on the muscles and folds, while these latter are as it were brittle and dry and incorrect as well, though the drapery is but the simple dress of an apostle. How perfect and refined, compared to the Nóvgorod icon, are the colouring and pigments in the icon of SS. Boris and Glêb : in one we find a delicious dark blue for Boris's cloak, a subtle shade of dark chestnut shot with violet for Glêb's kaftan. In the other we have a primitive bluish-green indigo, and nothing to put beside the fine gold sprays of vine pattern, admirably arranged to cover the dark blue ground of Boris's cloak.

But Russian icon-painting did not long remain on this level. We see this in the icon of *S. Demetrius of Thessalonica* which hangs alongside in the Russian Museum.³ It is likewise painted upon a pale gold ground ; below is a strip of herbage. The saint wears a red cloak, from the earliest times the mark of noble warriors among the saints such as S. George, but the most distinguishing detail is the saint's equipment, a mail corslet worn over a leathern jerkin or gambeson, the lower margin of which is cut into strips. Above the mail is a belt supporting a bow-case and quiver. According to the Greek legends the saint was the protector of Thessalonica against the Slavs and so he is unsheathing his sword. The dark flesh colour and harsh high lights are remarkable, perhaps the icon is a Nóvgorod

¹ Kelermes, sixth century B. C. Rostovtsev, *Iranians and Greeks*, p. 54, Pl. IX.

Byzantine', *Byzantion*, i (1924), pp. 7-49.

² For all this see our author's posthumous article, 'Les Costumes Orientaux à la Cour

³ Pl. XI. Inscription : [Svyatyi Dimítrji Solún'skyi = of Solún' = Salonica.

copy of a Súzdaľ icon of the fourteenth century. An undoubted example of a thirteenth-century Súzdaľ icon is that of *S. John Chrysostom* in the Ostroúkhov collection : it came from the cathedral iconostas out of the *Deesis* tier, also called the tier of the Fathers of the Church. It is distinguished by the narrowness of the panel on which it is painted ; the figure is stiff and the drawing marred by an exaggerated attempt to make it a close portrait of the great patriarch.¹

We have a whole series of fourteenth-century icons directly derived from Greek originals but more or less Russianized. They deserve close study but first they want to be carefully cleaned and then accurately reproduced by photography. Such outstanding icons are : *Our Saviour (Spas) not made with hands* (the Vernicle) in the Spaso-Andrónikov monastery at Moscow :² according to tradition it was brought from Byzance by S. Alexis, Metropolitan of Moscow (1353-78) ; the type of Our Lord is remarkably gracious, not quite Greek, even a little Russian, and the painting is also Russian. *Our Saviour Pantocrator* in the church of the Rogózhski cemetery at Moscow, evidently from its great size belonging to the upper tier of an iconostas, remarkable for its reddish flesh colour and the purely Byzantine type of the Pantocrator.³ *S. Nicholas the Wonderworker* in the church of Our Lady of Smolénsk in the Novodévichi nunnery outside Moscow, formerly a fixed icon : it is remarkable both for the drawing and for the dark flesh colour : it is flanked by half-lengths of SS. Cosmas and Damian, Boris and Gléb, Florus and Laurus, Anastasia and Parasceve, four pairs of saints specially honoured at Nóvgorod. The icon will well repay cleaning.

Russo-Byzantine icons from Nóvgorod are rare both in churches and in collections, and only one or two specimens are ascribed to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Among them we must first consider the miraculous icon of *Our Lady of the Sign (Známenie)*, the Palladium of Nóvgorod. The tradition that connects this icon with the protection afforded by Our Lady herself when the city was attacked by the men of Súzdaľ in 1169 goes back to early times.⁴ Of course the tradition was invented by the Russian clerks and is a mere adaptation of the defence of Byzance against the Persians by the exhibition of Our Lady's vesture upon the wall (A. D. 625).

¹ Wulff-Alpatoff, p. 92, f. 33 : see for the type of Chrysostom, Kondakov, *Athos*, pp. 68-9, Pl. xvi.

² Kondakov, *Iconogr. of Our Saviour*, Pl. A.

³ Published in the *Album of Photographs of Icons in the Rogózhski Cemetery*, the great

centre of the Old Believers, 1913.

⁴ For an icon showing the whole story see Halle, *Altrussische Kunst*, Pls. 19, 21, after Anisimov in *Sofia*, 5, pp. 1-21 ; another picture of it, Buslaev, ii, p. 388. 5.



XI. S. DEMETRIUS
Novgorod School. XIV cent.

In 1355 a cathedral (*sobór*) was built and to it was brought the icon of Our Lady of the Sign, so that the church has since borne the name Znamenski. The icon called by this name shows Our Lady standing with her hands raised (*orans*) while the Child is represented conventionally in a circular medallion or shield over her breast. The earlier shield, held by Our Lady in the folds of her mantle, yet visible to all, was supposed to be of silver as befitted the Emperor of the World. When sculpture was translated into painting it came to be understood as a glory round the figure or bust of Our Lord, giving it the mystic sense of the Divine Providence which is from everlasting and is manifested in God the Word—Emmanuel = God with us. We know that this particular type of Our Lady was held in honour at the great church of Blachernae on the outskirts of Constantinople and there exist Byzantine coins showing her in this form upon the walls of Blachernae.¹ But this type was not treated as a devotional icon before the fifteenth century when it had become the emblem of Nóvgorod: yet the miraculous icon does belong to the devotional class, as on each side of the half-length of Our Lady are two small figures of the patron saints of the family for which it was painted. Moreover the icon shows every sign of fourteenth-century date in its dark flesh colour and Our Lady's dark purple cloak.² Finally, the Laurentian Chronicle, an older text than that of Nóvgorod, gives a different version of what happened and one which may be nearer the truth: 'We have heard of a sign vouchsafed at Nóvgorod in the sight of all the people, how that in three churches Our Lady in three icons wept foreseeing the destruction that was to come.'³

There can be no doubt that to the twelfth century belongs the remarkable icon of *SS. Peter and Paul* which is the principal icon of the cathedral of S. Sophia at Nóvgorod: ⁴ but only the heads, hands, and feet are painted, the vestments in low relief and the background are in repoussé work, and the frame bears little figures of Apostles and Prophets in high relief. The icon has great importance in the history of Byzantine iconography because it represents the chief of the Apostles in conversation: this subject almost went out of use after early Christian times and only came in again during the twelfth century both in Byzance and Sicily where the life of the two

¹ The type is well shown on Pl. LVIII. See Kondakón, *Iconography of B.V.M.*, ii (1915), pp. 103-23, ff. 31-48; Dalton, *Byz. Art*, p. 673; Diehl, *Manuel*, p. 674, f. 355 after Kondakón, *Athos*, Pl. xxx and p. 225, where it is called ἡ μεγάλη παναγία. Another name was ἡ πλατυτέρα (*sc. τῶν*

οὐρανῶν). It was very common on seals.

² The icon may well be of the twelfth century, and all this due to repainting. E.H.M.

³ See Golubinski, *Hist. R. Ch.* I. ii, p. 407, for various accounts of the miracle.

⁴ Grabar'-Muratov, p. 191; Wulff-Alpatoff, p. 71, f. 25.

Apostles was represented in mosaic, e.g. in the Capella Palatina at Palermo. We must suppose that icons of the type appeared in Byzance in the twelfth century but it is not till the fifteenth that it spread widely in Greek and Russian art. Note that the icon must have been executed in Nóvgorod as the panel is of lime wood and the names in Slavonic though with the Greek termination—oc.

If we mention the full-length icon of *S. George* in *S. George's Monastery* (*Yúr'evski*) and the large *Annunciation* in *S. Anthony's Monastery*, both of the twelfth century to judge by their style, we have come to an end of the list of Russo-Byzantine icons in the Nóvgorod churches. There are a few such of the thirteenth century. Most instructive historically is an icon of *S. George* that has been cleaned.¹ Its antiquity is proved by the style of painting and inscriptions and it is of first-rate importance for comparison with icons of *S. George* dating from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. In this icon we have not a portrait of the great martyr, but a representation of his achievement, the slaying of the dragon. The tale of this wondrous feat took shape as early as the seventh century, but the earliest representations of it belong to the eleventh. In Byzance they did know the picture of *S. George* on horseback and his combat with the dragon, but the subject only gained wide popularity after the Crusades. Our icon is all painted by one artist, but he had more than one model: the centre-piece had a Greek or Greco-Slavonic original, but the scenes of the saint's life follow the miniatures in some Slavonic, probably a north Russian, manuscript. In the centre we have a purely Greek type of *S. George* upon an Arab horse (contrast it with that on Pl. XXV), but with a mantle not, as usual, red, but blue, and red boots with rows of pearls. His saddle has a high cantle behind, is covered with mauve leather, and recalls the tilting saddles of the thirteenth century. The dragon is very like the monsters in Romanesque carvings and illuminations. The background is red.

¹ Pl. XII, Russian Museum, No. 108, from the Pogódin Collection. Inscriptions in the Nóvgorod dialect: centre, *S. George* (?), *Serpent*, *Yelisava*: scenes (to be taken, first along the top, then each side alternately, last along the bottom, cf. Pls. LVII and LIX where the order is quite definite): *S. George distributes his goods to the poor*; *soldiers bind and lead him*; *they set him before the Emperor*; *they put him in prison*; *they turn him on a wheel*; *he casts down the idols*; *they tear him with hooks*; *beat him with oaken staves*; *rub him with stones*; *burn him with torches*; *boil him in a cauldron*;

rasp him with a saw; *heap stones round him and pour water out of pots(?)*; *they hew him in pieces with the sword*. There is something wrong about the last scene but one; the Slavonic legends use the word 'pot', *konob*, of the 'cauldron' in the one before, and in this case we have 'pouring lye and tar and stinking stone', A. N. Veselovski, *Misc. of the Acad. of Sc.*, P. xx, p. 168; and the Greek *Painters' Guide*, p. 184, plunges him in quicklime. For the legend see H. Delehaye, *Les Légendes grecques des Saints militaires*, Paris, 1909.



XIII. S. PARASCEVE

Novgorod School. XIV cent. Pages 69, 99

The scenes copied from miniatures of a manuscript are, like their originals, painted upon a white ground; they are in the early Greco-Slavonic manner and have not lost sight of the Greek original, but they are necessarily on a much larger scale. In one scene we find a curious detail which belongs definitely to Nóvgorod: S. George distributes his goods to the poor in the shape of silver rods about four inches long—such were the old Nóvgorod rubles.

The civilizing movement which embraced the whole European world in the fourteenth century took in Russia the form of building many monasteries all over the north of the country and particularly in Nóvgorod. In the history of painting this century confronts us with a singular variety of manners: this variety is greatest where stray models from outside offered themselves for reproduction and imitation. This was particularly the case at Nóvgorod, where at this time no single fixed manner of drawing or colouring dominated, so much so that it is possible to enumerate no less than ten styles if we base ourselves on the examples that have come down to us. In this respect Nóvgorod is in strong contrast to the uniformity of Súzdal'. The most curious point is that the different styles answer to the iconographic character of the subjects: in each case some imported model determined the style. We can see this by taking a certain number of Nóvgorod icons in the Russian Museum and comparing them, where possible, with the types of icons honoured in the Nóvgorod churches.

Such an icon is that of *Nicholas Thaumaturgus* in his *sobor* on Yaroslav's Court, the open space in the middle of the Trade Side where the assembly met.¹ The icon, being painted upon a round panel, was probably a banner. It may be assigned to the thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Copies of it are in various churches and in the Russian Museum; all have the dark flesh colour, and, unlike the Byzantine manner, have a leaning towards ordinary painting in their colouring and in the light planes being put in with broad patches of dark red: the face still preserves some Greek features but the expression is comparatively kindly not rigidly ascetic, and the lines have something of the Russian about them.

Much more severe is the remarkable face of *S. Parasceve*:² the gesso foundation is modelled in low relief and upon this the painting is applied; the settings for the stones and pearls on the

¹ Nóvgorod was divided by the river Vólkhov into two 'sides', Sophia Side to the west with the great cathedral and ancient citadel, and Trade Side (*Torgóvaya*) to the east: see plans in Tolstoy and Kondakov,

R. Antiquities, vi, pp. 96, 97, ff. 117, 118.

² Pl. XIII, Russ. Mus. No. 3014: S. Parascevé or Praskóvia is a kind of impersonation of Friday regarded as a maid martyred in Diocletian's persecution, *vide infra*, p. 99.

diadem and shoulder straps are distinctly raised. The painting is very severe and well suited to the refined and ascetic features of the saint : as belonging to a patrician family she wears a red mantle.

In quite another, as it were a primitive popular, style is a pair of very early *Royal Doors* :¹ in these the Greek design has been reduced to the barest possible scheme ; the dominant colours are red and green, and these in pale diluted tones : this in a sense takes the scenes out of reality into a world of fancy : but the reason was not that the craftsmen sought to express some significant symbolism, such as is invented for them in the interpretations of modern aesthetes, but that they were not capable of anything else. For instance, the marble buildings had to be made brownish green and the tiled roofs red because the painters' palettes had no pale blue colours nor yet dark brown for the tiles. Very curious types of saints and apostles occur in a set of seven icons that make up a *Deesis* series in the Russian Museum ; all are rudely painted upon red grounds : the manner is probably south Slavonic, but the faces with their hooked noses go back clearly not to Byzantium but to Asia Minor or the Grecian East.

Examples of such manners often stand isolated or only by chance contributed to the stream of Russian icon-painting : but its general course at Nóvgorod is becoming clear to us and is governed by the selection of certain iconographic types with which the manner of painting was correlated. The most evident case of such a type is that of *Our Lady*. A new representation of Our Lady became in the fourteenth century the preoccupation of the whole Christian world, West and East alike. In Italy men definitely departed from the Byzantine type and in this they were followed by the whole Balkan peninsula and Mount Athos. An early example of the new tendency is a remarkable icon of Our Lady in the collection of S. P. Ryabushinski at Moscow, assigned to the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century :² the new points are the dark brown ground, the light flesh colour, and more especially the youthful face : in everything else, in the vestures of the Mother and Child and in the composition, it reproduces the *Hodegetria* or, as the Russians call the type, *Our Lady of Smolensk*, and bears the marks of the Italo-Cretan style. Round the frame is a prayer translated closely from late Greek prayers, a clear indication of its Greek model. The treatment of the faces shows an unaccustomed hand most carefully exaggerating the Byzantine lines round the eyes and the features of the Child.

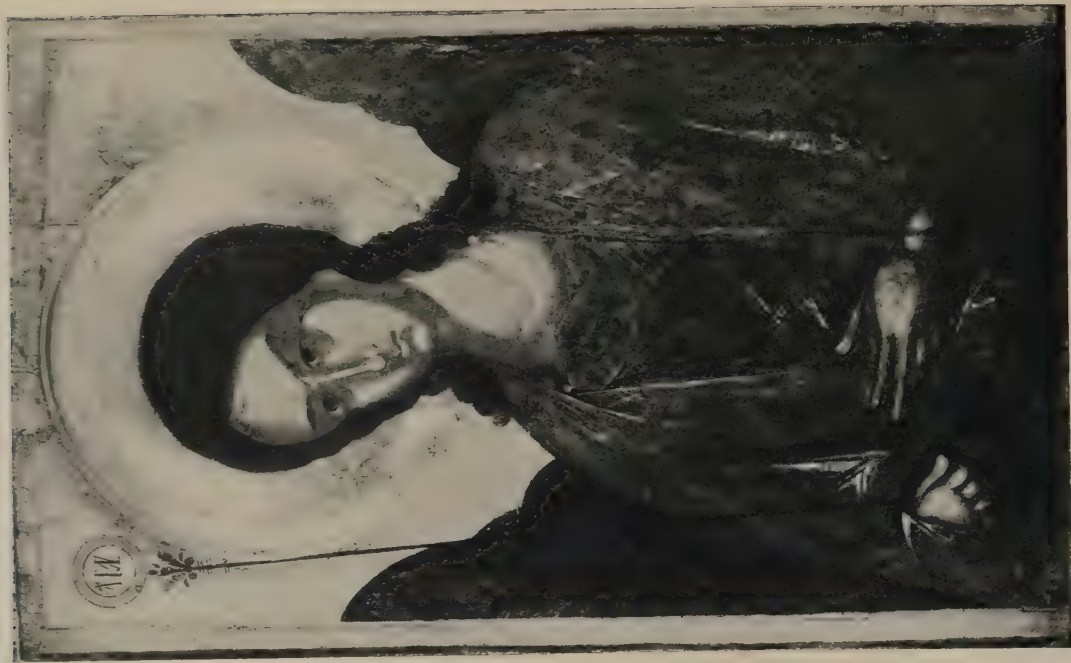
¹ Pl. VI. 1, Russian Museum, No. 1223 ; p. 224, f. 109 ; Grabar'-Muratov, p. 147, cf. *supra*, p. 33.

² Kondakov, *Iconogr. B.V.M.*, ii (1915),

makes it earlier.



XIV. 1. THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL
Novgorod School. XIV cent. Ryabushinski Collection, Moscow



XIV. 2. THE ARCHANGEL GABRIEL
Suzdal School. XV cent. Pages 45, 71

The best way to form a right idea of the first beginning and the independent development of Russian icon-painting in the fourteenth century, particularly as it went on in Súzdaľ and Nóvgorod, is to compare two icons which shall be closely allied in subject and period and without doubt purely Russian (those just enumerated were more or less copies from the Greek). Take the two Archangels reproduced on Pl. XIV, one from the Ryabushínski collection at Moscow, the other in the Russian Museum. The first, *S. Michael*, comes from the *Deesis* tier of an iconostas: it is painted in the bright liquid tones of the pure Greek icons of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, on a pale gold ground. The drawing is severe and even harsh, though not quite correct (e.g. the chiton has an angle at the neck which was in the original upon the right side and has got over to the left in tracing): the colours are brilliant, a red mantle and a green chiton: the flesh colour is reddish; we may ascribe most probably to Nóvgorod a style of drawing so hard that the lines of the folds seem as if deeply engraved.

The charming icon of *Gabriel* in the Russian Museum (No. 1947)¹ has apparently survived from the *Deesis* tier once in Súzdaľ Cathedral, as one icon that ranges with this is still preserved there but has been repainted. When it came to the museum, the icon of Gabriel was already a wreck with the lower part sawn off, but the drawing clearly shows that when whole it was a full length. The slow movement of the figure towards the central icon of Our Lord enthroned explains the inclination of the body as in walking. The painter has used a Byzantine original for the drapery but has chosen for the Archangel, instead of the full imperial robes, just a dark green chiton and blue himation. In his right hand the Archangel holds a spear; the pose of the left expresses his devotion as he stands in his place before the majesty of God.

What a difference from the former icon in actual painting, in the type of the Archangel and in his expression. In this the whole body is felt plastically under the clothes, whereas in the former there was no body, no solidity at all, just a flat scheme drawn out, and on it the folds all in straight lines, instead of their being wavy and rounded as they ought to be with a woollen material. After the icon was cleaned, the Archangel's hair was found to be reddish-brown in colour and the flesh whitish in the naturalistic high lights. So Ryabushínski's icon approaches the Byzantine manner whereas the type of Gabriel, tender and almost feminine with its pensive look,

¹ Pl. XIV. 2. Inscription: АРХ(ангелъ) ГАВ(ріилъ).

points to the influence of the art of Italy now coming into its own. So we may put this icon into the special class of which Andrew Rublëv is the outstanding example. Though this most important of Russian painters developed Russo-Byzantine icon-painting to its highest dignity, none the less or rather just because of this, he remodelled it after his own fashion under the influence of the Greek icon-painting which in the second half of the fourteenth century had profited by the development of painting in Italy to raise itself after a temporary decadence.

The second half of the fourteenth century is, for art and civilization throughout Europe, a time of general progress due to the new energetic life of the city communes. The place of the empire's solitary initiative is taken by the free and varied life of the towns with their friendly co-operation, their communities and guilds. Artistic life in its various forms expresses the beginnings of political life in different countries and links them all together. When, for instance, on the island of Konevéts in cold Lake Ládoga we find in a monastery founded in 1393 a wonder-working icon of *Our Lady with the Child* (cf. Pl. XVI. 2) of the same type as the one we know in Florentine painting (see below, p. 81), we must not be too much surprised nor regard it as a mere coincidence. The fact is that at the end of the fourteenth century the picture of Our Lady became for all Europe the expression of a new spiritual movement in Christianity.¹ If we look for it, we shall find the same type not only in the familiar parts of Italy, but in the Greek icon-painting of its eastern coast, or on the Balkan peninsula. But when we think how little has been done to bring into one intelligible whole the history of painting in northern and central Italy, Venice and Florence, Pisa and Siena, is it any wonder that there is some difficulty in following up the connexions of Russian icon-painting through the Greek intermediary with that of Italy?

This is how quite provisionally and as it were of its own accord there has arisen the idea of an historical group, an Italo-Cretan school of icon-painting working from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. There are good reasons for calling the school in its earlier period Greco-Italian and in the latter Cretan, though Panselinos the great master of the sixteenth century was not from Crete.² This is followed

¹ A. A. Dmitriévski, *Puteshéstvie po Vostóku* (Travels in the East), 1890; Kondakov, *Iconography of B.V.M.: Connexions*, P. 1910; N. P. Likhachëv, *The Historical Significance of Italo-Greek Icon-*

painting, P. 1911 (*vide supra*, p. 9), representations of B.V.M., 1-32. [But see my preface and the note on p. 82. E. H. M.]

² [This makes the term Italo-Cretan unfortunate.]

by a third period which is better classed apart from the Italo-Cretan school as late Greek, as it has lost almost completely the style, manner of drawing, and painting of the Cretan school, and approaches that of the Russian *fryaz'* (or semi-European style).

The Italo-Cretan school had its own style, quite different from the purely Byzantine both in drawing and colouring, and strange to say, this style is much the same in Venice and in Sicily and is most clearly defined in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The icon-painting of Venice is best known to us by the work of one of its early masters, Maestro Paolo Testi,¹ who had freed himself from the Byzantine drawing with its stiff and harsh folds, but still kept to the Greek colouring instead of going over to the 'Gothic' or rather Giottesque manner. It is true that he did paint a *Coronation of the Virgin*, now at Sigmaringen, a composition not in the least Greek, and took over from the Italian painters the elongated proportions which were natural in Gothic sculpture and passed from it into painting. But the same Paolo painted after the Greek fashion a great icon-panel which once covered the front of the altar of S. Mark's in Venice. Since 1847 it has been fixed as a back to the famous frontal of gold and enamel, the *Pala d'Oro*.² Paolo's work is dated by an inscription 1345: it is made up of seven half-length icons and seven incidents in S. Mark's life. It is all in the new 'softened' Greek manner, more like ordinary painting, but it is nothing like so near to it as several other classes of icons, though again it does include the purely Western subject of the *Ecce Homo*. Venice itself possesses a kind of museum of its icon-painting in the collection preserved in the church of S. Giorgio dei Greci. There we can see excellent examples of the icon-painting of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries from which copies were made for Greece, for Athos, and for Russia. Among them is an icon of the *Transfiguration* in drawing and pattern (*perevód*), but not in colouring, very close to Rublëv's well-known icon (see p. 91), also examples of the icon *Mother, weep not for me* (*Pietà*: see lower centre of Pl. XXIX), which was borrowed by the Greeks from Italian painting of the end of the fifteenth century. The fact is that if this collection were put side by side with the picture gallery in the Venetian Academy, historical science would gain a great deal for the investigation of the sources of the Venetian school, but against this is set national feeling which is convinced that Italian painting worked 'on its own' and not under the influence of Greek icon-painting. Far from this, as it were on purpose, the Greek icons

¹ Laudedeo, *Storia della Pittura Veneziana*, i (1909), pp. 185-208.

² Diehl, *Manuel*, p. 701; Dalton, *Byz. Art*, p. 512, and literature there quoted.

collected in the Correr Museum and the Academy itself mostly belong to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when icon-painting itself was indebted to Italian painting.

Early examples came in considerable numbers to the Russian Museum (mostly through the admirably selected Likhachëv collection): for instance, two icons of the *Nativity of Our Lord*; one, a large 'placed' icon, is light in colour and plastic in style, the other smaller, of very deep and rich colouring and wonderfully 'picturesque', even aiming at instilling a definite mood by the way in which the landscape is flooded by the peaceful light of the dawn.¹ The museum also possesses good specimens of the later style. Venetian icon-painting had branches in Bologna and Ravenna, as may be seen from the city picture galleries: at Ravenna there is quite a large number, and the same may be expected in the other cities of the Adriatic coast.² The transfer of the Vatican pictures to a new gallery has called attention to the icons accumulated therein either as ancient gifts sent to the popes or collected by Pope Paul II (1464-71), who came from Venice and had a taste for rare examples of Byzantine art. Apparently to his collection belongs a series of first-rate folding icons, diptychs and triptychs, pilgrims' icons from Egypt, Syria, and Sinai.³ The collection of icons in the Naples Museum also belongs to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and has for us a similar interest as it shows subjects repeated in Russian work. Till the earthquake one could see many old Greek icons, both in mosaic and in tempera, in the churches of Messina, but they nearly all perished. The museum at Palermo opened, in 1915, a section for Greek icons, some of them splendid specimens of sixteenth-century work, evidently the work of south-eastern painters, such for instance as the *Bisamani* at Otranto, but to some extent Italian paintings and engravings served as models.

On Mount Athos there is preserved a vast number of all sorts of icons, big and little, 'fixed' and devotional, work of the Italo-Cretan school; but only under very favourable circumstances can a foreigner get at them or take photographs. Though *Rossikó*, the monastery of S. Panteleimon, has its own establishment for painting icons which go all over the East, none of the local archaeologists has any idea of dating icons, of the different styles and when they

¹ Pl. XV, Russian Museum, No. 3011.
 ἡ χριστοῦ γέννησις. δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ καὶ
 ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.

² S. Jerome in the National Gallery,

No. 3543, is of the Venetian School of Icons, late fourteenth century.

³ These are soon to be published and illustrated by Professor Antonio Muñoz in Rome



XV. THE NATIVITY OF OUR LORD

Greek School. XV cent.

were practised. The vast material remains unused and scholars have so far studied only the wall-paintings.

In general Italo-Cretan icons differ from the purely Byzantine by a special softness of touch especially about the folds of the drapery, due to their being nearer to ordinary painting. The conventional compositions and types remain the same as before but the hard scheme of the drawing is softened by the gentle gradations of a manner which takes the sharpness out of the high lights: the style loves dark red or dark brown draperies and shades their folds with subtle modelling and an avoidance of anything like hard high lights. Besides this the deep and rich colouring agrees more with the Oriental styles than with those of Greece proper.

Side by side with this new colouring in icon-painting there appears a new expressiveness upon the countenances of the sacred persons, evidently under the influence of Italian picture-painting and in answer to an idealistic religious movement, by which a worshipper came to require of the picture which helped his devotions a spiritual communion with himself. To the Italo-Cretan school is due the development of the types of *Our Lady's Tenderness* which were adopted by Russian art.¹ The idea of the new composition is in Greek icons to express on the Mother's face her sorrowful presage of her Divine Son's Passion. Seeing His Mother's grief, hidden though it be, the Son presses Himself close to her with childish caresses, and she answers this by yielding to the tenderness of a mother's love. To account for this tender look various new attitudes of the Child were invented: He embraces His Mother's neck, rises up from her knees to come closer, presses His cheek to hers or touches her gently upon the chin. To this series belong the famous Russian miraculous icons of *Our Lady of Vladimir* (see p. 39), of *Poemen*, and of *the Passion*, all three in Moscow cathedrals.

The colouring of Italo-Cretan icons is another reason for grouping them together. It is quite different from that of pure Greek icons, being marked by deep rich thick tones, dark lilac, dark chocolate,

¹ *Umilénie* is the name given to the most popular type among icons of Our Lady: the force of the word is difficult to render, it may be active, corresponding to the Greek epithet ἡ ἐλεούσα expressing the pity of the Virgin for the Son when she thinks of His coming passion; this derives from *Our Lady of the Passion* (*Strastnáya*), above whom appear angels with the instruments: but more often *umilénie* seems to be a sad

tenderness, between love and pity: the verb *umilyát'sya* is 'middle' in sense, 'to be touched, to feel emotion', perhaps 'yearning' gives it fairly well: see Pl. I, VI, XVI, XIX, XLV. For many examples see Kondakov, *Iconography of B.V.M.* (1910) *Connexions*, pp. 150-84, ff. 96-131. Réau, *Art Russe*, I, pp. 152-6, gives a useful summary of the various Virgins.

and dark blue or greenish brown on a ground of correspondingly deep reddish gold, e. g. *Our Lady of Tikhvin* (Pl. XVIII) shows all this and is a direct copy of a Venetian icon.

The purely Greek icon went on right into the fourteenth century resembling a drawing coloured in light tones, but it is not from this that the Italo-Cretan school derives ; its Greek original is the Greco-Oriental which always existed side by side with the purely Greek or Byzantine. The best example of the Venetian style is the *Trinity* (R. M., No. 1806) quite close in colouring to the work of Giovanni Bellini and a clear proof of the intimate interdependence of icons and pictures in Venice.¹ Other icons from Venice and Padua showing the close connexion of late Byzantine art with that of Italy in iconography, make, and spirit, are in the Russian Museum, particularly a *Noli me tangere* (Our Lord and the Magdalene in the Garden) and a *Pietà* (a common subject in Russia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, entitled there *Mother weep not for me*). To this origin go back, through copies of icons on Mount Athos, many mystico-symbolic icons of the sixteenth century (see below, p. 102).

A further point in the Italo-Cretan school is its fondness for ornament ; for instance, the gold grounds of glories and crowns are decorated with *pointillé* work and the freely painted folds of drapery are hatched with gold or set off by gold high lights. The Byzantines did this by actually applying gold leaf (see p. 57), and the Russian craftsmen kept long to this method, but the Italo-Cretans used a gold solution, that is, a mixture of artificial gold powder with thin gum : as this allowed of making curved strokes upon the folds the Russians took to this process and developed it in the sixteenth century. Some icons, for instance those of Procopius Chirin, make a great display of this manner of varying the colour of the painting : to the astonished eye of the donor an icon would sometimes appear covered by a spidery network of such golden high lights.² Finally icon-painters, under the influence of the fourteenth-century Venetians such as Lorenzo Veneziano, all took to expressing the relief of the body and face, even of large icons, by close-set hatching with fine strokes of tempera which takes the place of rounded modelling of the muscles. Of course this picking out of the draperies with gilding or heightening with gold paint was applied by both the Italian and the Russian icon-painters to the great central figures of iconography, to Our Lady

¹ Testi, *op. cit.*, gives several coloured reproductions of Venetian pictures of the fourteenth century, showing this very clearly.

² Coloured Pls. I and LV show this to some extent. Pl. XLV. 2 is a better example but lacks colour.

and the Saviour whose dark green, dark blue, or dark red cloaks were covered with a gold network. But in this there was no mystic meaning, no symbolism, and when people see in it a special 'theory in colours' we must regard it as mere arbitrary metaphysical speculation.¹ A specially interesting example of the eastern Greek colouring, or as the old Russian painters called it 'of dark ochre', is a *Virgin and Child* in the Russian Museum.² In it we have a manner comparable to that of Rembrandt or Franz Hals. Most remarkable is the way in which the fundamental dark under-coats of the flesh are lit up with smoky *sankir* and the draperies with dark green, ochre, and vermillion. The brightly lit, softly white and rosy countenance of the young Mother is a really wonderful piece of painting: a bright patch of colour is afforded by the figure of the Child with his light blue 'spotted shirt', yellow gold-streaked himation, and red sash.

In this style the characteristic ascetic eastern Greek types of Evangelists and Fathers are rendered with that exaggerated meagreness of body which marks Georgian and Armenian icons. The whole style differs entirely from the pure Byzantine manner.

A final peculiarity of the Italo-Cretan schools is in the *complementary reflexes* or high lights and reflected lights in draperies: so reddish tones have green reflexes answering to them, and brown tones have light blue, while green draperies have brown shadows. These two-coloured reflexes are applied to the ground colour and are so bright that inexperienced spectators may take them for real direct high lights, or the shadow in its darker tone for the ground colour. This fashion goes on into the fifteenth century in Nóvgorod icons, and becomes for so long and to such an extent their characteristic mark that when the Novgorod studios were transferred to Moscow it became there the special sign of the 'first Moscow manner' of our *starínshchiki*.³

With the Italo-Cretan icons we must class those which have always been called *Korsúnskiya*. Korsún' is the Russian form of Χερσών, the later name of Chersonesus Taurica, the site of which just

¹ See Prince E. I. Trubetskóy, *Theory in Colours* (*Umozrénie*, lit. 'mind seeing', v *kráskakh*) and *Two Worlds in Russian Icon-painting*, Moscow, 1916, in which the colouring of the early art is interpreted as a symbolic expression in devotional icons of the way in which old Russia looked upon life and felt religion. This decipherment of the hidden language of icons discovers in this 'mysterious art' a spiritual significance, an idea of two contending worlds

in our life on earth, and a 'sunny mysticism' of colour. This and similar far-fetched nonsense has been read into icons since they have in recent times attracted the attention of the general public.

² No. 399: the photographs accessible are too dark for reproduction.

³ The painters of icons after the old style who have a rule of thumb knowledge of the different schools.

south of Sevastopol is well known in the archaeology of south Russia for its antiquities both ancient Greek and Byzantine.¹ According to the legend Vládímir was christened here and took hence the priests, icons, and the sacred gear for the Christianizing of Kiev.² But when icons are called Korsunian it does not, as most people think, imply this antiquity going back to Vladimir and the old Kiev period; the word is applied to all sorts of objects (for instance, the Korsun' cross of rock crystal in the Uspenski Sobor at Moscow, fourteenth century) due to foreign, mostly Genoese, trade in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and imported both from the East and the West through Caffa, Kerch, and Cherson.

To distinguish icons with the Korsun' stamp at Nóvgorod is easy if we compare them with the old Nóvgorod or the Byzantine icons. In the Korsun' class we miss the strict system of high lights; everything is more like ordinary painting and softened, the drawing is simpler and ruder, there occur patches of colour without any high lights upon them and these aim at quite a special effect, and altogether the colouring is different, more allied to what is called 'the dark ochre style'. A special point about it is the very faint way in which the nostrils are indicated, not merely in icons with small figures but even in large ones with half-lengths: so faint is it that they can scarcely be distinguished; this is a kind of special impressionism and an easily recognizable mark.

The early development of civilization in the Nóvgorod region and the prosperity of Nóvgorod itself were of course due to its being a meeting-place of the roads along which the world trade from the East and Byzantium passed to the North and West; here was a distributing centre and storage place for goods. The comparative abundance of early icons preserved in Nóvgorod, its environs, and in Pskov, mostly in monasteries but some in churches, witnesses to the general wealth and comfort of the whole population, boyars, great merchants, burgesses, and even country folk. But this abundance requires for its full explanation the historical catastrophe that fell upon the city and the whole region, bringing impoverishment and loss of population, so that old things had to be preserved because there was no means of putting new in their place. At Nóvgorod masonry churches were being built and adorned with wall-paintings and iconostases in a series unbroken from the year 1108 to 1445.

¹ E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, pp. 493-553.

² On the real importance of the Christian objects from Chersonese as models for Kiev,

see Kondakov, *Russian Hoards*, i, Introduction, pp. 42 sqq.; Tolstoy and Kondakov, *Russian Antiquities*, v, p. 27.

There is a 'Chronicle of the Churches of God', the third and latest Nóvgorod chronicle, which specially devotes itself to this subject, but it loses sometimes the historical setting, giving too much space to tradition. It is only concerned with the building of masonry churches: these generally took the place of wooden churches that had already existed but had either been burnt down or had rotted away.

Meanwhile side by side with the masonry churches went the construction of a great number of wooden churches sometimes with many domes or spires.¹ Many too were the churches burnt down to the ground, often with all the icons that adorned them. Naturally the wooden churches did not lend themselves to wall-paintings and they were decorated with icons to supply which local workshops arose. But when a masonry church was built companies of 'Greek' artists (this included any one from the Balkan peninsula, Bulgars and Serbs as well as Greeks) were invited to cover the walls. They would also execute the iconostases, the painting of which was much more like fresco with its bright colours. That is why in Nóvgorod icons we see two strains alternately or side by side, the true icon-painting with rich dark ochre coat (*okhrenie*) and the icons painted in quite light tints almost like water-colour.

We can see the same thing in the drawing: the earliest and likewise the best icons are drawn in a broad, in its way monumental, style: in the later ones and the shopwork (*kustárnyya*) we find the drawing simplified, the folds of the draperies reduced almost to the vertical lines and the human figure and its clothing to a mere convention.

We may take as an example the icon of *S. Thomas* in the Russian Museum (Pl. VII. 1): it is still in a good style that has not lost touch with Byzantine originals with their refined oval faces (Attic, as we call them, that is, in accordance with the classical convention), thin noses, small lips, and the scheme of Greek himation and chiton which make up the so-called 'apostolic vesture', still surviving and familiar to the Grecian East as worn by Syrians, Bedouins, and the like. On this Russian icon the brows are arched in accordance with the Russian type, the eyeballs are not at all convex and the drapery

¹ The Russians took over the square church with one or five domes upon drums pierced by windows. When imitated in wood the domes and drums lost all opening to the inside and becoming mere adornments of the external silhouette were multiplied beyond measure: side by side with them

over bell towers or porches grew up stumpy spires and *bóchki*, saddlebacked roofs with a section like a pointed horseshoe. These wooden forms retranslated into masonry gave rise to the wonderful architecture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

is done after the model of the frescoes, not after the icon fashion, nor yet does it show true understanding of drapery, but the forms are confused.

Again from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries icons became more and more dependent upon the miniatures in MSS. which the icon-painters had to follow through lack of icons as models. At this time came in a certain excessively simplified scheme which the *starinshchiki* regard as primitive and coming before any true style (*dostil'ny*). The fact is that there are many such icons in the Nóvgorod style and they may belong to various dates from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, but since they are 'monastery' work made for the villages of the distant North or mere cheap shopwork they really have no style at all, though they may betray their late date by the adoption of late schemes of composition.

We have seen an example of such simplification in Ryabushinski's *Hodegetria* or *Smolenskaya*.¹ Another icon of early Novgorod work belongs to the class *Umilenie* (*vide supra*, p. 75); it was made to be carried in procession (*vynosnáya*) and so has *S. Nicholas* on the back; below there is a wooden dowel which goes into an iron loop so that it can also be set up behind an altar (*zaprestól'naya*). The dark flesh colour is such as we should expect with this type, with which goes the lively alert Child: it is characteristic that the Mother, though bending towards the Child's caresses yet cannot be turned from the thoughts which beset her. The colouring of the icon is Italo-Cretan with a dark purple-brown (*bakán*) for Our Lady's cloak; the faces suggest a south Balkan copy of an East Greek original.

A third type is represented in the history of Russian icon-painting by the well-known miraculous Virgin honoured at Konevéts (called among icon-painters *Our Lady of the Dove*, *Golubitskaya*), an island monastery in Lake Ládoga. This icon is still held in high honour and copies of it are multiplied: in old time it was particularly common in Nóvgorod painting and the best example of it, though not early (beginning of the sixteenth century), is in the Ostroúkhov Collection (Pl. XVI. 2). It shows us Our Lady with the Child on her left arm playing with a white bird (much too small for a dove) on His left hand; his right hand holds a string to keep the bird from escaping. This motive of the Child playing with a bird is so well known in Italian

¹ See p. 70. As *Hodegetria* Our Lady holds the Child on her left arm, her right hand is raised and she looks at the spectator; the Child is very unchildlike; He does not look at His Mother but straight out of the picture and holds up His right hand to

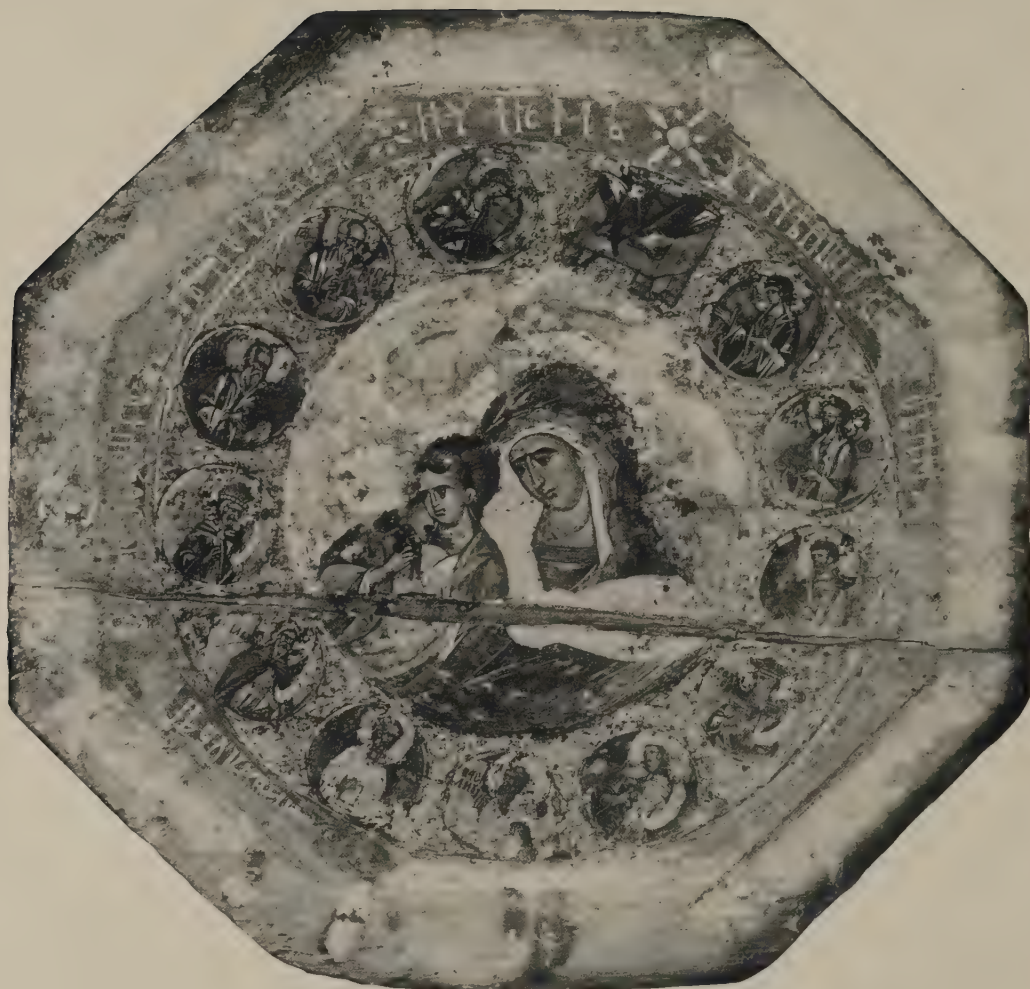
bless the spectator. In the type of *Our Lady of Tikhvin*, Pl. XVIII, the Child looks more to His right: as it dates from 1383 it shows an immense advance in style, and is typically Italo-Cretan.



XVI. 1. *UMILENIE OF OUR LADY*
Novgorod School. XV cent. Page 95



XVI. 2. *OUR LADY OF KONEVETS (GOLUBITSKAYA)*
XVI cent. Copy. Page 80



XVII. PANAGIARION
Novgorod School. XIV cent.

painting of the fourteenth century that I have used it as a capital instance of the transmission of iconic types and artistic influence from Italy to Greece (first by way of the Italo-Cretan school) and thence to Russia.¹ The fact is that this particular theme arose and first established itself in the art of northern France (such a statue is at Winchester College) and from there spread to Italy. It presents the Child playing, as was the custom in those days, with a goldfinch flying on a string: another element in it is a medieval superstition that the goldfinch is endowed with a peculiar sensitiveness to disease: if a goldfinch is brought to the bedside of a sick child, it feels whether he will recover and looks towards him or away from him accordingly: it was even believed that the goldfinch had a miraculous power of sucking the peccant humours out of a sick child.² It is not only in the subject that we can see the connexion; the drawing of the child's figure also takes us back to Italian originals of the second half of the fourteenth century (e.g. Spinello Aretino in the Accademia at Florence, 1391) and so through Italy to the prototypes in French sculpture: we see the Child pulling at the string with His right hand so as to draw back the bird which is trying to fly off His left. The dates confirm this, as the Konevéts icon was brought there in 1393. But there are still many details outside what is found in ordinary Greek icons of Our Lady, and due to a different school; these still require explanation.

An ancient *Panagiaron* came to light in 1913 and, by the striking agreement of an independent variant, confirmed the descent of the Russian type from the realistic Italian subject.³ On this, Mary, holding the Child on her right arm, watches Him: He has taken the bird in His right hand and is looking closely at it pressing Himself up to His Mother: His other hand is stretching the string attached to the bird and has caught the white veil that shows under her cloak. The goldfinch has its natural dark plumage. Italian origin is

¹ Kondakov, *Connexions*, pp. 27-32, ff. 14-18.

² Honorius of Autun (1090-1120); Migne, *P. L.*, clxxii, col. 958. He goes on to give a legend of the 'white goldfinch'.

³ Pl. XVII: it passed from the Likhachëv Collection to the Russian Museum, No. 3044. *Panagiaron* is the name given to the consecrated dish or saucer used in the rite of elevating Our Lady's particle of the Host in a monastic or sanctified refectory. This example is a wooden octagon about ten inches across; it once had a silver edging

and foot: so it was set upon the table at festivals and afterwards elevated to the singing of anthems; see Du Cange, *Glossarium Gr.*, s. v. *παναγία*. Round it runs the inscription 'As more honourable', &c. (the second half of the anthem cited, p. 112, n. 3), the Church's answer to the Magnificat. In the roundels on either side of Our Lord's throne may be distinguished Michael and Gabriel, the four Evangelists, David and Solomon, Elias and Jeremiah (?), Cyril (?) and Basil.

shown not only by the naturalistic composition but by the presence of the white under-veil: yet the types of Mother and Child remain Greek. On the other hand the Apostles and Prophets all round are Russianized.

Purely Russian icons of this theme show a white goldfinch or some sort of white bird instead of a finch, and there follows the interpretation that it is a white dove, and a halo round it marks it as the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove; so the icon is called *Golubitskaya* (from *Gólub*, dove). It is a case of a small fraud but a pious one and an explanation made to suit it: yet there is something strange in the emblem of the Holy Ghost being led upon a string even by the hands of the God-man.¹

¹ This view of the extreme importance of Italian influence upon the art of the Eastern Church, exercised first upon the Greek population of Italy, and then through the Italo-Cretan school upon that of the Balkans, Greece proper, and ultimately Russia, is originally due to our author: his great ally is N. P. Likhachëv. It is, however, necessary to mention that another school led by Muratov (in his section of Grabar's *History of Russian Art*) reminds us that independently of Italian influence there had been a renaissance of Byzantine art in the fourteenth century (Millet, *Recherches*, pp. 624 sqq.; Diehl, *Manuel*, pp. 735 sqq.; Dalton, *Byz. Art*, pp. 19 sqq.; *E. Christian Art*, pp. 236-42); D. V. Aynálov, *Trans. R. Arch. Soc.*, Class. Sect. (1917), pp. 62-230, 'Byz. Painting in the Fourteenth Century', upholds Western influence.

This renaissance issued from the popular and monastic rather than the official world and had a tendency towards the human, the pathetic, and the picturesque. We find its chief productions in the later mosaics

of Kahrie Djámi (Chora) at Constantinople and in the frescoes of Mistra. It would therefore be unnecessary to go all the way to Italy to find the source of the new themes and the new manner that reached Nóvgorod and Moscow in the fourteenth century (see summary in Réau, *Art Russe*, i, pp. 188-195). The fact that all these arts started from a common basis makes it very hard to distinguish the various currents. Millet (l. c.) shows how extremely complex was the interaction of Italy, the Balkans, Greece, and Palestine with Syria and Egypt. The resultant reached Russia about a century behind and this gave time for influences to come to it by devious ways. Some subjects such as the *Madonna alla Latte*, which had been ascribed to Italy, undoubtedly existed farther East, and Italy may or may not have been the source of the Russian renderings. Others, such as the bird *motif*, are as certainly Western. We must await more study of the monuments of south-east Europe before the question can be cleared up. E. H. M.

V

THE XIVTH AND XVTH CENTURIES. THE SUZDAL' SCHOOL AND ANDREW RUBLEV

THE best way to gain a scientific view of the development of icon-painting in Russia is to keep a firm hold on the connexion between the different schools and to throw light upon them by studying the chief iconographic types. Before we return to Súzdaľ' and its painting in the middle of the fourteenth century, it is well to recall the specially favourable position in which it was placed and the progress it had made up to that date.

The Súzdaľ' region lies in the central belt of plain which stretches across Europe from the middle Volga through Volhynia and Galicia to Czecho-Slovakia. This all has a Slavonic population and in early medieval times was bound together by political and cultural connexions. While the Mongol invasion laid south Russia waste for centuries and so cut off central Russia from Byzance and the Balkan peninsula, it did not hinder communications with the western Slavs, and these became closer and from them models were obtained not only through Galicia but through the Bukovina. Peter (*d.* 1323; afterwards canonized), who moved the metropolitical see from Vladímir to Moscow, came from Galicia, where he had been a 'wondrous icon-painter' and had founded his own monastery. Legend connects him with an icon (*Petróvskaya Bogomáter*)¹ still revered in the Uspenski Cathedral at Moscow, which he had a hand in founding. The Metropolitan Photius (1408-31) brought Galicia under the ecclesiastical authority of Moscow. In the early fifteenth century the Bukovina and Moldavia were great centres for church embroidery which took refuge there from the destruction wrought upon the civilizations of Serbia and Bulgaria. To this period date back the earliest of the magnificent curtains, palls, frontals, epitaphia,² and copes (*sakkos*) of Nóvgorod, Súzdaľ', and later Moscow. So began a general recovery in Russia, now breathing again after the horrors

¹ It must be noted that the icon now so called is by its type and technique certainly no work of the fourteenth century, but is probably a mere reminiscence of an original

which has disappeared.

² *Plashchanitsa*, an embroidered representation of the Dead Christ carried in procession on Good Friday.

of the Mongol invasion and making a swift advance from the time of the battle of Kúlikovo Póle, the great victory over the Tartars (1380) which marked the turn of the tide. One feature of this recovery is the fact that during the century from 1340 to 1440 there went forth a hundred and fifty founders of monasteries : these foundations were the expression of a great economic revival.

To this same hundred years goes back the special veneration paid to certain icons of Our Lady, forming quite a series : *Our Lady of Vilna*, 1341 ; *of Halich*, 1350 ; *of the Don*, 1380 (Pl. XIX. 2) ; *of Poemen* (an Italian original), 1381 ; *Grebnevskaya*, in Moscow, recently cleaned and found to be Italo-Cretan, 1380-90 ; *Barlovskaya Galactotrophusa*, in the cathedral of the Annunciation at Moscow, the type shows this to have had a Greco-Italian model, 1392 ; *of Konevets* (Pl. XVII. 2), 1393 ; *of Koloksha*, 1413, and so on.¹ A most excellent example is *Our Lady of Tikhvin*, near Nóvgorod (Pl. XVIII), revealed, according to tradition, hanging on a tree in a wood in 1383, and reputed never to have been repainted. Cleaning has disclosed layer upon layer : beneath the last a Russian copy of a Greco-Italian original. The design is interesting ; it distantly recalls the famous *Iberian Madonna*,² but a sad expression is added to the countenance of the Mother : this means that it was composed under the influence of the new religious ideas current in the West, and that only its painting not its spirit is on the Greek model. We have noted its deep rich colouring, dark chocolate-red, dark blue, and deep reddish-gold.³

The second half of the fourteenth century was adorned in Russia by three holy men of great ability, SS. Alexis of Moscow, Sergius of Rádonezh, and Stephen of Perm ; all three were educated men, well acquainted with the Scriptures, and even instructed in Greek books ; they helped to their best ability the art of icon-painting, establishing it in the monasteries they founded so that their assistants had to occupy themselves with it.⁴

¹ Kondakov, *Iconogr. of B.V.M.* (1910), *Connexions*, p. 40.

² In the Iberian or Georgian convent on Mount Athos, Kondakov, *Athos*, p. 166, Pl. xvii.

³ Later versions of *Our Lady of Tikhvin* add a characteristic detail : in His emotion the Child has dropped His sandal so that it only hangs by the strap.

⁴ Alexis, *b.* 1292, made Metropolitan 1354, *d.* 1378, was the main adviser of the Princes of Moscow who had just established their position as the chief Russian princes, and were rebuilding the city and its churches

in masonry ; Alexis greatly helped the recovery of Moscow after the Black Death. Coloured Pl. LV may bear some relation to a portrait : the Alexis on Pl. XLVI. 2 is a different person. Sergius of Rádonezh, *d.* 1393, founded in 1337 the Trinity (Tróitskaya Sérgieva) Lavra forty miles north-east of Moscow, the chief monastery in Great Russia : he worked with Alexis in guiding the Princes of Moscow and was the soul of the league which won Kúlikovo Póle against the Tartars. Stephen of Perm, *d.* 1396, converted the heathen in the far north-east of Russia.



XVIII. OUR LADY OF TIKHVIN

Copied from the Greco-Italian School, A.D. 1383. Pages 76, 80, 84

The most famous of Russian icon-painters, Andrew Rublëv, was a monk of the Spaso-Andrónikov monastery at Moscow: before that he had apparently been a lay brother in the Trinity Lavra and a pupil of the icon-painter there. Afterwards he painted the walls of the cathedrals of the Annunciation at Moscow, of the Dormition at Vladimir, and of the Trinity in the Lavra. He died in Moscow between 1427 and 1430 at a very great age. Icon-painters are still convinced that Rublëv was the saint of Radonezh himself, pointing out that famous icons from the hand of Rublëv are miraculous. There is a great deal in this; the reputation of being miraculous does indeed attach to icons venerable for their antiquity or artistic merit. And in Rublëv there was something more than artistic skill, there was in him the personal experience and expression of a new religious emotion (*umilénie*) concentrated upon icons of Our Lady with the Child. Hence the great number of copies and their spreading all the way to Nóvgorod and Pskov. This again has led to great confusion in attempts to define what Rublëv's style really was.¹

Rublëv was an artist, a creator, in the full sense of the words: he did not merely hand on the severe design of the Byzantines but added to it his own very characteristic touch, and, most of all, created new religious types with a new expression in them which meant informing religious art with a new spiritual significance. True, before Rublëv's time this significance had been apprehended among the Italian artists and had been indicated and not entirely lost in the Greek copies, but it was remade by Rublëv and by him brought into the practice of icon-painting. He was no mere craftsman but a true artist and his special style brought life back to the Byzantine type, face, hands and body, drapery and general composition, drawing as well as colouring. This special style is very like that of Cimabue, Duccio, and the Sienese, but is more severe than theirs, still retaining the characteristic strength of the Byzantine religious types, hammered out by the centuries in the Grecian East. This we can see in the faces of Our Lady, the Child, Jesus Christ, Angels, Apostles, and the like; we can see it in the elegant draperies of the 'apostolic vesture', often blown about and restless, but having, so to speak, their own expression as they are penetrated by the artist's desire to express his reverence for the holy personage that they drape. Indeed we might make this characterization of Rublëv complete by comparing him with Fra Angelico, were it not for a certain risk of the comparison doing an injustice in particular points both to the

¹ M. and V. Uspénski, *Notes upon* N. P. Likhachëv, *The Styles (Pís'ma) of Russian Icon-painting*, ii; A. Rublëv, 1902; A. Rublëv, 1907.

one and to the other. The trouble is that the severity with which Rublëv held to the Byzantine foundation makes or keeps his icon a true icon, but narrows the field for the new religious significance, which is only infused into the principal types while the petrified scheme is reproduced in everything else. On the other hand, in the case of Fra Angelico a monotonous expression of religious emotion is spread over the picture and this gives a sentimental and childishly naïve effect. In the matter of colouring Rublëv stands infinitely higher than Fra Angelico; this can be traced even in mere copies once or twice removed from his originals: the Italian master, being devoid, like all the Florentines, of any feeling for colour, covered his pictures with light blues, pinks, and reds, thinking with these confectionery colours to render heavenly brightness and blessedness.

Rublëv's icons, in close copies, spread not only over the Súzdal' and Moscow regions, but into Volhynia and to the north in Vólogda, Nóvgorod, and Tver'. The old craftsmen found in these the best examples of the severe Byzantine style and the most suitable for devotional use. But only some of Rublëv's icons thus circulated among the other schools of icon-painters. And again we find his name attached to copies of stray models, sometimes to whole iconostases or to *Deesis* groups¹ or such like. Until cleaning has been applied to all the specimens which are now ascribed to Rublëv, ascribed that is merely by tradition, we cannot judge whether we do possess any originals from his hand and if so, which they are. For instance, now that the icon of the *Trinity* revered in the Sergius Lavra has been cleaned we can say that it is not even the best copy of Rublëv's icon of this subject.² The icon of the *Umilenie* in the Russian Museum (frontispiece) exactly coincides with a seventeenth-century tracing which shows the ancient signature 'The Prince's Painter Rublëv painted this icon', but it too is probably only a copy. The splendid icon of Our Lord's *Transfiguration*, a fixed icon in the ancient church Spas-na-Ború, is also apparently no original. The icon of the

¹ *Chin* from Zvenígorod, Muratov, *Peinture*, p. 116, ff. 34-6: real resemblance to the *Trinity*.

² Grabar'-Muratov, p. 231 (and a coloured plate, missing in my copy), Réau, pl. 32, Halle, pl. 22, regard this as the finest of all Russian icons. Levinson (*Slavonic Review*, 1924, p. 352) implies that it has been further cleaned in 1919 and revealed as even better. He speaks of the extraordinary beauty of the colours, especially the incomparable

blues. Sir Martin Conway, *Art Treasures*, p. 57, calls it 'one of the loveliest primitive pictures I ever beheld'. In view of this agreement I have ventured to add as Pl. XX a photograph of it kindly sent by Professor Anísimov. For former cleanings and restorations, see N. P. Sychëv, *Trans. R. Arch. Soc.*, Russ. Sect. (1915), pp. 58-76. The copy in the Russian Museum selected by our author remains as Pl. XX A. E. H. M

Dormition of the Blessed Virgin in the Kirillo-Bélozerski monastery¹ must yet be compared with the icon of the same subject in the district of Kolómna, south-east of Moscow, to determine whether it be an original. The wall-paintings of the Uspénski Sobór at Vladimir designed by Rublëv were only exposed in 1919, too late for me to see.

All the icons we have named do exhibit a certain special character and style which we must certainly regard as essentially 'Rublëv's touch'. We see in it, of course, certain typical marks of its time consisting in the technique with which the processes of tempera painting are handled, in certain definite compositions, and much else, but over and beyond all this certain features stand out most prominently, and these are evidently new features to which special love and power have been devoted. First of all we notice that in opposition to the Nóvgorod scheme of drawing, simplified to the last degree and executed roughly and carelessly, we now have drawing of extraordinary refinement, complicated and even rather fantastic in its draperies. This is certainly not Byzantine drawing, but his contemporaries thought it was, prizing such 'severe Greek' drawing after the Nóvgorod simplification. Next there is the peculiar colouring of dark tints, especially deep purples and the tender pale ivory of faces and flesh. This too is nowise to be called Greek and must be put down to the Venetian and Paduan originals; but his contemporaries knew these originals only in the Greco-Italian rendering and thought that they were really Greek. It may be added that the Palëkh craftsmen still draw just in this manner and use just these colours and their own name for their craft is 'the Greek style', while they pay no heed to the purely Byzantine originals.²

So Rublëv's manner has in Russian icon-painting its own peculiar character, but moves in a certain correspondence with the artistic forms of the Greco-Italian school. In icons of the Súzdal' region or originating from Súzdal' we can clearly trace this correspondence. The first place belongs, because of its artistic merit, to an icon of

¹ On the 'White Lake' 250 miles due east of Petrograd, founded in 1397.

² Our author seems too insistent in denying the possibility of any Greek influence upon Rublëv, and upon the Nóvgorod school as well. The frescoes of three churches at Nóvgorod, executed between 1350 and 1380, have been uncovered, some certainly by the hand of Theophanes the Greek whom the Chronicles say worked at one of them: they show a style derived from the Byzantine renaissance of the four-

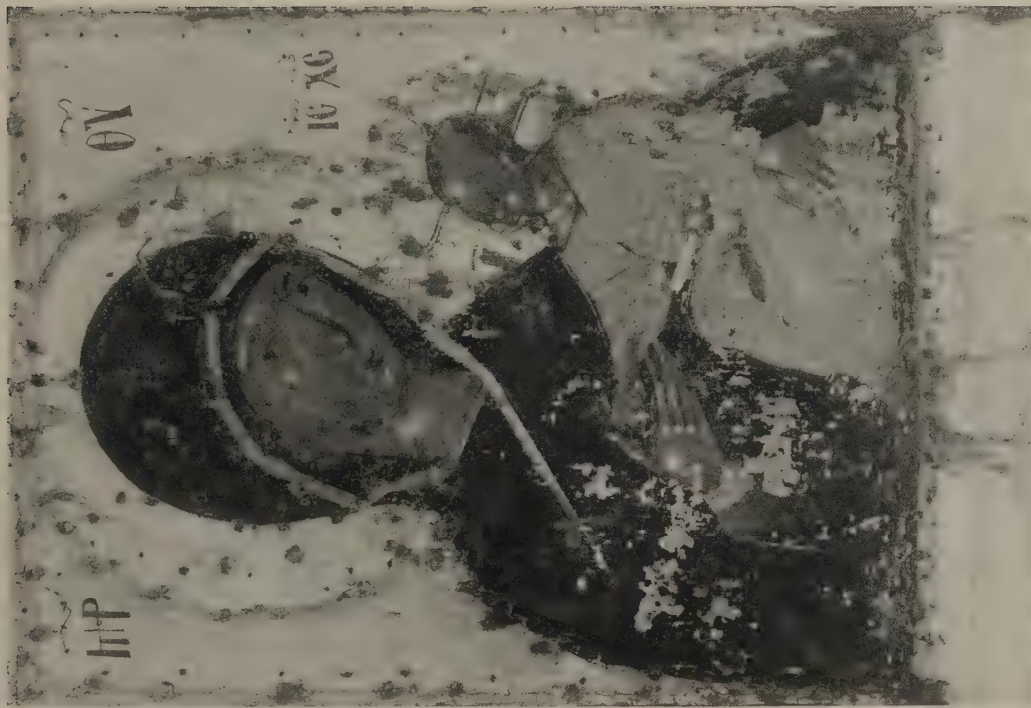
teenth century incorporating many Western elements. In 1395 Theophanes was working in Moscow, in 1399 at the Archangel Sobór, in 1405 at the Sobór of the Annunciation where he had as colleague Rublëv. It is hard to believe that Rublëv owed nothing to the older artist, to whom *Our Lady of the Don* and part of the iconostas of the Annunciation are now attributed. Muratov ascribes Rublëv to Novgorod; I do not see why. E. H. M.

Our Lady's Tenderness in the Russian Museum (frontispiece): the background and haloes were once covered by a worked plate of precious metal; this loss does not lessen its attractiveness due to its subtle expression. At first sight the icon might be put down to an Italian master, but it is really quite different from any Italian painting. The fact is that if we could imagine Cimabue or Duccio painting in the early fifteenth century, they might have done something like this: such belated work could only be in Russian icon-painting. The paintings ascribed to Cimabue show the same general type, but they are without expression, dry and lifeless, whereas in this icon Mary's face is alive with feeling. Her eyes are turned towards the Child's baby face, but she does not see it, they are looking far into the distance, into the fatal future. Of course the expression of grief is rendered in iconic fashion, stiffly, but it is full of strength and character. A new feature in the drapery is the red sash about the Child; this developed out of the chiton's *clavi* now no longer intelligible: the chiton is hatched all over with gold (*inokop'*). Our Lady's dark purple cloak is adorned with gold stars, still merely ornamental but later to be interpreted symbolically. Characteristic are Our Lady's slender hands with long thin fingers.

Closely allied to this icon is the miraculous icon of *Our Lady of Vladimir* in the Uspénski Cathedral at Moscow. Tradition in great detail ascribes the origin of this icon to the days of Yúri Dolgorúki (*d.* 1157), but its theme shows that it belongs to a class of icons that only came in during the fourteenth century. It is possible that 1395, the date when the icon is said to have been brought from Vladimir to Moscow, is about the time when it was painted. The power with which Our Lady's sad expression is rendered makes this icon remarkable, but it has not been cleaned [so our author on the basis of the early sixteenth-century repainting,¹ but see pp. 39, 150].

A devotional icon of *Our Lady* (Pl. XIX. 1), once in the monastery of Our Lady's Protection (*Pokrov*) at Súzdaľ, in which no doubt it was dedicated by some princely family, and so can safely be ascribed to Súzdaľ, has been most generously presented by the monastery to the Russian Museum (No. 3091). We have in this a very rare example: it shows the Maiden Mother as so young that we should only give her fifteen, or, considering how early Syrian girls grow up, some thirteen years. There would be no way of accounting for such a conception in icon-painting, if it had not been current in French statuettes and Italian or Flemish madonnas. Of course an icon-painter who set before himself the task of rendering a very youthful

¹ This state is shown in Shirinski-Shikhmatov, Pl. 26; Kondakov, *Connexions*, p. 170, f. 119.



XIX. 1. OUR LADY FROM THE POKROV CONVENT AT SUZDAL
XV cent.



XIX. 2. OUR LADY OF THE DON IN THE CATHEDRAL OF THE
ANNUNCIATION AT MOSCOW
XIV cent. Page 89



XX. RUBLEV'S TRINITY IN THE SERGIEVA LAVRA. c. 1420. Page 90

Virgin by the help of studying Western models, and by his own imagination, would still preserve the fundamental features of the Greek type of Our Lady, the long fine brows, the eyes not deep set but full of quiet peace, the long nose with ever such a slight curve, the tiny lips and the elegant narrow oval of the small head upon a swan-like neck. The most striking thing about this icon is the face and head of the Child: He has round baby cheeks and as it were a still unformed head with a tuft of hair on the top, upon the conventional body of the Child. But in this icon there is a restrained movement about the figures which charms the spectator; the Child has bent His right hand in the attitude of blessing and is timidly and uncertainly moving it to make the sign, glancing the while at His Mother, who delicate and fragile, just touches His hand with her own, and timidly glances aside towards the worshipper. Unfortunately the Child's vesture was repainted in early times: in the eighteenth century the icon was covered with a silver plate.

How far these two icons do belong to the Súzdal' type of Our Lady, and, further, how far this type does actually go back to Rublëv, we can judge by a series of copies of *Our Lady's Tenderness* and in particular of the Vladimir icon preserved in various churches of central Russia, specially in Súzdal' itself where there is in the cathedral an icon of this type to which very great reverence is paid. From this icon and from a later modified copy are derived very many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century icons in the Russian Museum and the Moscow icon collections.

Let us take the best example, a very small icon. When the icon of *Our Lady of the Don* was cleaned in 1914,¹ it was found to belong to the fourteenth century and to be akin in composition to the theme of Our Lady's Tenderness, though deriving from a variant. In this case the Mother is not pictured as so deeply grieved; she is rather moved by tenderness and love mixed with a lively sense of the Child's apprehension. The base of the composition is Italian; in its first form the Child was clothed only in a shirt short enough to show His legs, but the Greek and Russian painters in their copies kept to the traditional 'apostolic' vesture, chiton and himation; the legs being left bare, this has meant a meaningless massing of drapery. The type of Our Lady is also different; the face is fuller,

¹ Pl. XIX. 2. The icon was behind the altar in the cathedral of the Annunciation (*Blagovêshchenie*) at Moscow: tradition says that it was given to the Grand Prince Dmitri, called Donskóy, by the army

victorious in 1380 at Kúlikovo on the Don. It has been suggested that on account of its Greek colouring it is the work of Theophanes. The *Dormition of Our Lady* is on the back; see Wulff-Alpatoff, p. 153, f. 61.

more like Duccio's work than Cimabue's. The fourteenth-century Italians (Duccio and all the Sienese) sought in painting Angels to put as much sentiment as they could into their expression and into the actual faces: with this intention they made so much use of the allied type of the young maiden that they elaborated a special, absolutely feminine, type for the Angels. Greek icon-painting was, as it were of old, forearmd against such sentimentality: it had inherited the refined Attic type of young man with spare and severe forms, and it long held to its own and so preserved just this model for the use of the Russian master Rublëv. It must, however, be said that the mosaics of Kahrie Djámi in Constantinople¹ show angelic types quite similar to those of Duccio, with full ovals and a soft feminine cast of countenance: the same kind of type is found in Russian icons of the sixteenth century, e. g. in those of the *Assembly (Sobór) of Michael, or of Gabriel* in the cathedral of the Annunciation at Moscow.

The three Angels who ate at the table of the hospitable Abraham came conventionally to represent the earthly image of the Divine Trinity; this is called the *Old Testament Trinity*.² The close connexion between Rublëv and the monastery of S. Sergius, dedicated to the name of the Trinity, naturally made it likely that it should have an icon of the Trinity from his hand, but whether the much venerated icon of the Trinity in the Trinity Cathedral of the monastery (Pl. XX) really reproduces Rublëv's original is much doubted. The interesting fact is that this original is repeated in many copies in all central Russia and even as far as Nóvgorod. In view of this we prefer to take a copy in the Russian Museum, later, but certainly better artistically (Pl. XXA). If the Museum would publish a series of the chief variants of the Trinity icon, we should be in a position fully to understand the differences between the various Russian schools even when they were using the same models.

The Nóvgorod schools, for instance, keep to an entirely realistic version of the scene, including Abraham and Sarah and even the preparation of the calf for the meal.³ At the same time the figures of the Angels are feminine in their full and rounded forms and their faces are in repose as befits an icon. The same may be observed in Greek icons of the Trinity, even though these icons were destined for the upper parts of Royal Doors in an altar screen. On the other hand the Súzdal' school, which developed the icon for devotional purposes, represents the three Angels alone without other figures:

¹ Anciently the *Μονὴ τῆς Χώρας*: see literature there quoted. Dalton, *Byz. Art*, pp. 416-40, ff. 224-46; Diehl, *Manuel*, pp. 793-804, ff. 391-6 and

² See p. 43 for a *New Testament Trinity*.

³ See Pl. LVII, small panel on the left.



XX A. COPY OF RUBLEV'S TRINITY IN THE RUSSIAN MUSEUM. *c.* 1500

we can see them in the Russian Museum replica of Rublëv's painting; they have but now sat down at the table and are just about to bless it and break the bread: the historical setting, Abraham's reception, as described in Genesis is left out. The Angels sit deep in thought for they are about to carry out their high errand, the unveiling of the mystery of the threefold Godhead at the declaration of the Old Covenant. We may say that, as though they were weary with their long journey, they move quietly, slowly putting out their hands to the food set before them, and their dropped shoulders suggest the mood of the moment, but we can see through all the depth of the religious feeling which belongs by nature to beings created for the glorification of the Deity. The whole colouring of the picture is based on the warm evening tints and deep tones of the desert and the precious purples and Venetian brocades of the vestures.¹

Besides these feminine types, Rublëv painted during his lifetime almost the whole cycle of Greek Christian iconography in fresco, and we must naturally wonder what his hand should make of the masculine types, strictly ascetic, stern, even gloomy, which so much abounded in Byzantine art. There is the well-known icon of the *Transfiguration* in the church of Our Saviour in the Pine-wood at Moscow. Since it has been cleaned it has been recognized as absolutely first-rate in its elegance, soft flesh colour, and delicacy, and as belonging in sentiment to Rublëv's work.² We must admit that until we are sure of Rublëv's originals we cannot in the given case settle whether we have one of these originals before us. As a matter of fact, we can see in this icon so many marks that point to the styles at the beginning of the fifteenth century that by now we ought to risk ascribing all these features to the master himself and not to his school. The composition of the *Transfiguration* in the frescoes at Vladímir differs from that of the icon: there the mountains all form one whole, whereas in the icon they are drawn as sharp rocks; the draperies too are much simpler, not so much blown out as in the icon, and closer to the strict Byzantine style. Of course the frescoes were not painted by Rublëv himself but by his pupils or assistant craftsmen, and that may be the reason why they do not give the design which was perhaps created for the icon itself. The icon is specially noticeable for its delicate two-coloured reflexes: on dark purple-red (*bakán*) the reflexes are light turquoise colour such as in Giovanni Bellini's work we find upon light silken stuffs; the expression is

¹ I have left the text untouched: the description fits original as well as copy save that its colouring is not so deep: notice the in-

voluntary changes in the drawing. E. H. M.

² P. P. Pokryshkin, *Icons of the Moscow Cathedral Spas na Ború*, i, 1913.

carried too far, becoming an excessive sentiment and strained reverence. As a whole the painting of the icon shows a close connexion with Italian icons and even pictures of the fifteenth century, but we must at the same time allow it to be perfectly individual and independent in its refashioning of Greek types. Let us examine the types of *Moses* and *Elias* bending before the Saviour.¹ *Moses* is similar to the Baptist (cf. Pl. XXIII. 2) in his long narrow oval face, dried up and fleshless, with reddish sunburnt skin, his scanty chestnut beard, and the dark brown mass of tumbled hair: it is a representation of the Hebrew leader and lawgiver such as is unknown either in Byzantine art or in the Italo-Cretan school. In all the iconographic inheritance of the West we find analogous representations only in the work of Bellini, Mantegna, and Signorelli. The Russian master retained the archaic drapery with particularly stiff and angular folds on purpose so as not to fall into the picturesque. *Elias* is more simply rendered with matted hair, painted definitely in the 'old fashion', that is, as they used to paint in the wall decorations of the fourteenth century, and a big beard all round his face. Both figures are set against a delicate turquoise ground of sky blue with stars. Their hands and feet are tiny compared to their tall massive bodies.²

In general, the fifteenth century was for Russian icon-painting, in its leading schools of Nóvgorod and of Súzdal', a period of nationalization, in which a Russian character was given to East Christian art and iconography. Up to this time everything had been either essentially Greek, or such coarse shopwork as to have no character and to be merely formal. The history of Russian art must in the future devote itself to throwing light upon this interesting process, by which an imitative craft was transformed into a conscious national art and the nation for the first time made spiritual and artistic demands. But this problem has not been faced even in the West except in Italy and France, where the strength of the movement has made it easy to follow its course. Everybody knows that as civilization progressed in Italy and France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, art produced a striking abundance of creative work answering to the interest and sympathy for its religious expression manifested by each nation: this abundance of creative power brought about the artistic development of these countries.

¹ Pl. XXI. 1, 2. The general scheme is of course fixed: Our Lord upon the top of the mountain flanked by *Moses* and *Elias*, while rays of glory stream down to the three apostles below. See Pl. LVII.

² Treatment of the Transfiguration in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is well discussed by D. V. Aynalov, in *Trans. R. Arch. Soc.*, Cl. Sect. ix, pp. 152 sqq.



XXI. 1, 2. ELIAS AND MOSES FROM RUBLEV'S ICON OF THE TRANSFIGURATION

S. Saviour's in the Pine-wood, Moscow. XV cent.

Far otherwise was it in Russia where the conditions of life and civilization were most difficult, both for Nóvgorod and the north-eastern regions colonized by it, all lacking food production, and for Moscow which had attracted to herself the middle belt of European Russia but was, until 1480, powerless to gain the upper hand in the struggle against the mighty Tartar horde. The artistic phenomena in Russia were the same in kind as in the West, but their force was incomparably weaker both in quantity and in quality of production. If, for instance, we do find in Russia a similar multiplication of icons, and if schools of icon-painting do arise even in the distant monasteries of the north, still we go on with an icon-painting condemned by the general resources of the nation to keep to the old journeyman level, and never rising to works of exceptional perfection or the execution of orders commanding really high pay. The more important is it that historical analysis should prove that even in this difficult environment of meagre journeyman work, activity of thought and spirit and artistic creation did make their appearance.

For one thing it is just in this period that the devotional icon comes into its own. It becomes the common possession of every one, from the boyar or rich merchant who could fit up for himself an oratory or shrine for his icons, down to the countryman who put his icons up in the 'fair corner'¹ of his cottage. The multiplication of icons proceeds from the multiplication of religious types or scenes held in honour, those of Our Lord, Our Lady, the saints, and the various festivals. As they increased in number they became each one simpler, and so the popular recasting of them went farther and farther, in obedience to the human instinct to repeat a type which has become familiar and has been completely seized by the eye. At Nóvgorod the type does not go outside the stiff iconic scheme, but at Súzdal' as it is recast expression and mood change; everywhere the facial and bodily type is nationalized and becomes that of the Slavs of Nóvgorod or that of the Great Russian.

In accordance with the religious cycle let us begin our survey of iconic types with the Saviour Himself. The Byzantine type of the *Pantocrator*, the Almighty, represented under the form of the God-man Jesus Christ, is very familiar in its majesty as shown in the eleventh- and twelfth-century mosaics of Greece, Constantinople, Sicily, and Venice: upon icons it suffers a certain change. The magnificent Greek icon of the Saviour in the Russian Museum with the portraits of the donors, known Byzantine grandees of the middle of the fourteenth century, on the frame, still retains the sternness of the mosaic

¹ *Krásny úgol*, the fair or red corner, the place of honour in the peasant's *izbd*.

countenances.¹ But later repetitions of the same mosaic type, while keeping its features, soften the expression and give the face of a kindly Saviour.² This last type is completely reproduced in a great icon of Our Lord's head, preserved in the main church of the Rogózhski cemetery at Moscow: the icon comes from Súzdal', but its technique is almost purely Greek: it is reproduced in the Rogozhski portfolio (*vide* p. 66, n. 3). On the other hand all the iconostases, those of the Súzdal'-Moscow group and also some belonging to Nóvgorod, which are said to be in Rublëv's manner, represent the Saviour no longer in this Greek type but in a popular Russian manner with a scanty beard (e. g. Pl. XXIV. 2): it is the same with the picture in the Pereyaslav Gospels which is so similar that it too might be put down to Rublëv. This gives a special interest to the complete interaction of the Russian schools in this most important province of the principal religious types. This interaction is well seen in a Nóvgorod icon of *Our Lord* preserved in the church of the Transfiguration cemetery at Moscow.³ This icon by its type of face clearly recalls the well-known painting of the *Pantocrator* in the dome of S. Sophia at Nóvgorod.⁴ The legend about this, very famous but certainly made up since the fall of Nóvgorod, tells how as it was being executed a voice from above called to the designers, telling them 'not to paint the figure with the right hand open' (that is to say, in the attitude of blessing) 'but closed for in this my right hand I hold Nóvgorod'. The legend was certainly made up to explain the hand's being as it were shut instead of the fingers being put in the attitude which gives the letters $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}$ (*vide* p. 49). As a matter of fact this shut hand is usual in the mosaics and naturally passed on to the twelfth-century fresco and survived repainting. But the fifteenth-century icon reproduces folds of the himation that have become confused, and this marks its date: also the type of Christ is that with a long narrow oval, a kindly face, and a beard only just appearing; a descendant of the late Greek type. This is just the rendering of Our Saviour which we find in the mosaics of the Kahrie Djami, mostly executed in the fourteenth century to the order of the grandee Theodore Metochites, who appears upon them offering

¹ Pl. XXII. $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}} \text{ O } \Pi\text{ANTOKPATWP. } \Delta\text{E}[\text{HCHC TOY } \Delta\text{OY}\Lambda\text{OY TOY } \Theta\Upsilon | \text{A}\Lambda\text{E-} \\ \Xi\text{IOY TOY } | \text{ME}[\text{ΓAΛOY } | \text{CTP}]\text{ATOΠE-} \\ \Delta\text{AP } | \text{OXY. } \text{†} \Delta\text{E}[\text{HCHC TOY } | \Delta\text{OY}\Lambda\text{OY} \\ \text{TOY } \Theta\Upsilon \text{ IΩANNOY } | \text{TOY MEΓAΛOY } | \\ \Pi\text{PMHKHP}[\text{I}]\text{OY.}$

² Such are collected in Kondakov, *Illustrated Painters' Guide* (*Pódlinnik*), vol. i,

'Iconography of the Saviour', Petrograd, 1905, which gives this in colours.

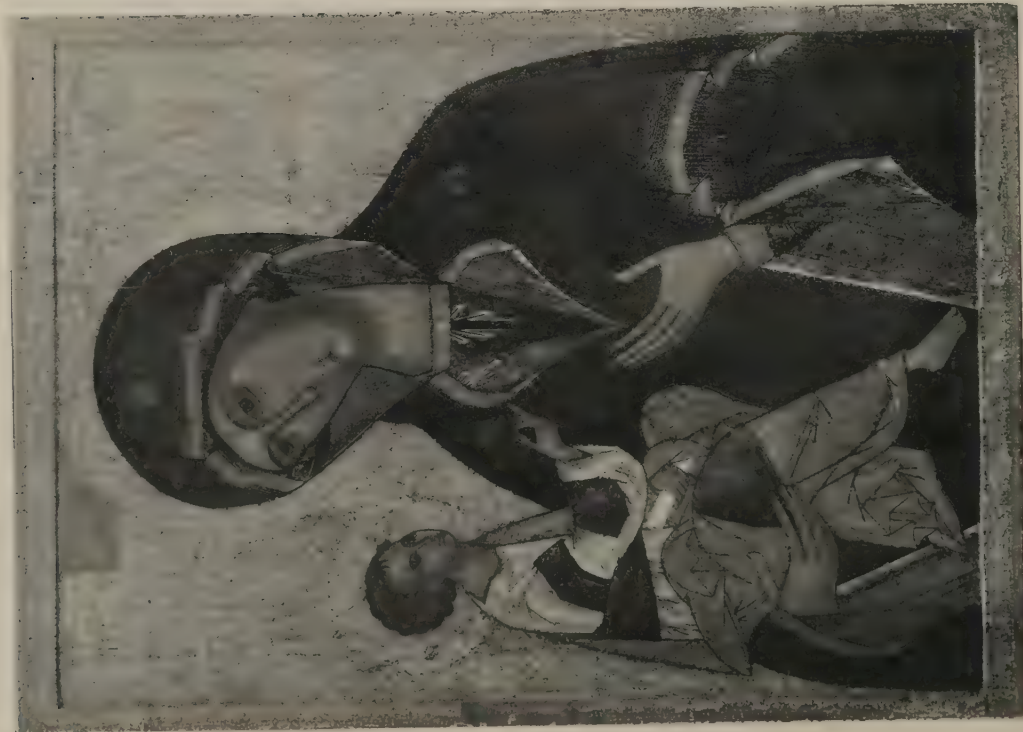
³ This is the cemetery of the Dissidents who do without clergy, refusing to recognize any orders conferred since Nikon's reforms: in it many icons were collected in the early part of the nineteenth century.

⁴ e. g. Halle, Pl. I.



XXII. OUR SAVIOUR: A VOTIVE ICON FROM MOUNT ATHOS

Byzantine School. XIV cent. Page 93



XXIII. 1. OUR LADY OF JERUSALEM
Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Novgorod. XV cent.



XXIII. 2. S. JOHN THE BAPTIST
Part of a Deesis. Novgorod School. XVI cent. Page 96

a model of the restored church to Our Lord.¹ Among the most important Nóvgorod icons venerated from ancient days is *Our Lady of Tikhvin* (Pl. XVIII), of which we have already spoken.

In contradistinction to the Súzdal' school, Nóvgorod kept to the severer types, such as the majestic *Hodegetria of Jerusalem* (Pl. XXIII. 1), of which the most famous example is in the Uspenski Sobór at Moscow. It also produced icons on a much larger scale, especially icons of Our Lady, nearly six feet high, of course destined to be 'fixed' icons but of almost double the usual size even for 'fixed' icons of Our Lord. At Stáraya Rússa (40 miles south of Nóvgorod) there is a much venerated icon of *Our Lady*, of enormous size, and it has been copied on the same scale in other churches. It may be that the local icon-painter simply reproduced an early Italian altarpiece both in design and in size. Often the 'fixed' icons of Our Lady in the Nóvgorod and Pskov district are made bigger than they would be otherwise, by the addition, in bands round the central subject, of icons showing scenes from Our Lady's life on earth (cf. Pl. LIX).

There is a good example of the Nóvgorod school of the fifteenth century in the icon of *Our Lady's Tenderness* (Russian Museum, No. 1539, Pl. XVI. 1): it is most characteristic in the simplicity of its composition. The Child, troubled by the expression of grief upon His Mother's face, tries to turn her from her thoughts by touching her cheek and chin. This subject comes in a direct line from the Italian Madonnas, that by Giotto himself in the Bologna gallery, that by Piero Lorenzetti, the Sienese master (A.D. 1315), in the Uffizi at Florence, and various renderings of the same theme by the Italian school. But of course the Russian painter keeps within the bounds of his craft; he does not cross the line dividing it from free painting, and so he does not really render the 'Tenderness' of the Mother herself. Her face keeps its sad and painful anxiety, her eyes do not turn to the Child nestling up to her, but look aside: only her hands instinctively press Him to herself. But no more does the face of Lorenzetti's Madonna really give us the 'Tenderness': the Italian master also remained on the edge of mere craftsmanship: the reason no doubt is that he felt his art incapable of expressing living feeling, and we can see this in other Madonnas by the same artist.

But the dependence of the Russian icon upon the Italian model can be well seen in the Child's white shirt with its swelling folds: indeed His whole figure is a bold and lively composition, whereas

¹ Dalton, *Byz. Art*, p. 418, f. 245. Some of these mosaics date back to the eleventh to twelfth centuries and naturally show the early severe type.

Our Lady is absolutely in the Greek manner. On the frame and not included in the illustration is represented *The Fatherhood of God*, the Ancient of Days with the youthful Emmanuel upon his knees, a late Greek subject.¹

A special interest attaches to a figure of S. John the Baptist in the Russian Museum (Pl. XXIII. 2),² as it is a Nóvgorod copy of an unknown Serbian or south Slav type. Of course the Russian icon-painters thought of it as Greek, but a comparison with real Greek originals shows an essential difference: the closest parallel is in the frescoes of Zhicha in Serbia. Extremely characteristic is the long lean oval of the face, the thick tangles of hair upon the head, shoulders, and beard (the painters' guides regularly speak of S. John's tangled locks). Then there is the long lean hooked nose and finally the sad, almost depressed, expression. The draughtsman evidently could not manage the characteristic folds of the cloak over the breast, and has produced a kind of storm-wave of folds. Below, the icon has suffered so much that when it was repainted the roll in the right hand was left out. All this is brought out by a comparison with Pl. XXIV. 3 where we have the same face, but now it is remade after the Nóvgorod fashion and has quite a different expression, full rather of quiet emotion. In general John the Baptist in Russian art has a majestic mien, but a kindly rather than melancholy expression. The three pictures on Pl. XXIV form a complete *Deesis*, but giving the busts only. In it we see very well the Italian originals adopted by Rublëv and quite russified by his followers: a typical Italian touch is the unintelligible inscription upon Our Lady's sleeve; it seems really to go back to Arabic.³

The Nóvgorod icons of the favourite saints of the fifteenth century are still more various, both in composition and in manner of execution. Cheap shopwork, very rude and careless, still goes on, but side by side with it appear icons of wonderful refinement, painted with extreme skill. Evidently the first sort was meant for the common people and the second for the higher classes. The distinction enables us to some extent to gauge the popularity of different saints with different classes, and to note the beliefs connected with the icons

¹ It can just be discerned between the heads of the Apostles on Pl. XLII: the same title is also given to the composition figured on p. 43.

² Ο ΑΓ(ΙΟC) ΙΩΑΝ(Ν) Π]ΡΕΔΤ(Ε)ΥΑ.
(*Predtecha* = *Prodromos*).

³ Cf. A. H. Christie, *Burlington Magazine*, July 1922, 'Ornament from Arabic Script'.

The inscriptions on the book and scroll are the usual ones, 'Come unto me all that labour and are heavy laden and I will give you rest', Matt. xi. 28, and 'Repent ye: for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand. And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: therefore every tree which bringeth not', Matt. iii. 2, 10.



XXIV. 1, 2, 3. OUR LADY, OUR LORD, AND S. JOHN THE BAPTIST FORMING A DEESIS

School of Rublev. XVI cent. Pages 94, 96

of the various saints. Icons of *SS. George, Demetrius, Theodore Stratelates, Boris and Gléb* are painted in the best style, while *SS. Elias, Blaise, Nicetas the Martyr, Nicholas Thaumaturgus, John the Baptist* are multiplied in cheap rough work. Icons of *SS. Barbara, Parasceve, and Anastasia* are very various both in size and in quality, as *S. Parasceve* protected both the wealthy merchant and the small retailer, *S. Anastasia*, the Unbinder, all women at child-birth. The prophet *Elias* was a defence against fire, *S. Blaise* took the place of the former cattle-gods.¹ *Nicetas the Martyr*² helped against the invasion of devils, *Antipas* assisted travellers, *Nicholas* seafarers and unfortunates, and so on.

Icons showing a warrior on horseback are found in great numbers, both in the Russian Museum and in all important private collections : they come both from *Nóvgorod* and from *Súzdal'* : they are interesting for their special points both of composition and manner. Often in both schools they show clear signs of Eastern descent ; evidently the Greek originals came from Syria by way of the Bulgarians and Serbs of the Balkan peninsula. Next, at the end of the fifteenth century, appear copies of Greco-Italian icons. The chief points of distinction are the types of the saint himself and of his horse, and the artistic manner answers to these differences ; so the correspondence of form and content convinces us that our hypotheses are sound. The type of *S. George*, that was Byzantine in origin, alters : instead of the ideal Greek oval we get a particular sort of curly hair, a hooked nose, and high eyebrows meeting over it. Or again, the antique may be almost restored in the Renaissance type of young man. With this goes a change in the temperament of the warrior ; either he rises in the stirrup so as to put more force into the lunge with his spear, or he is calmly and unerringly transfixing the monster. The dragon too changes ; instead of a long lizard or crocodile, he becomes a serpent with fantastic wings. We know that the fight between the hero and the dragon became a subject of decorative scenic representations at the courts of the north Italian dynasts, who had recently been adventurers and *condottieri*. Of course the horse changes too, from an Arab to the heavy northern horse that we see in Italian statues. The thirteenth-century Greco-Balkan type of *S. George* is well exemplified in Pl. XII (cf. p. 68) : Pl. XXV gives us a very gallant *S. George*, also from *Nóvgorod*, but he must be of the sixteenth century, and probably goes back directly to the Italian models painted at the court of Matthias Corvinus in Hungary (1458-90). The

¹ Blaise in Russian is *Vlási*, identified with *Veles* the Slavonic cattle-god. Pl. II and p. 17, but a warrior saint slain by Athanaric.

² Not the Archbishop of *Nóvgorod*,

young knight is displaying himself upon his white charger in sight of the people of the city looking down from a splendid *loggia*. With an easy movement of his light lance he is piercing the dragon whom the Princess is leading by a ribbon. The ground of the picture is a soft turquoise blue.¹ Rather different, but in the same manner of complaisant court painters, are the compositions showing *S. Demetrius the Vanquisher of Barbarians*: the 'strategus' sits on a throne treading under his feet an expiring dragon or basilisk. It is curious that this theme is treated at Nóvgorod in icons dating from the first half of the fifteenth century, but Moscow versions of it have not yet been noted.

Icons of the *Fiery Ascent of the Prophet Elias* are exclusively derived from Greco-Balkan models; the composition really goes back to the fifth century. The Nóvgorod icons² actually recall the Hellenistic or east Greek composition that appears, for instance, upon the sculptured doors of the Basilica of S. Sabina at Rome.³ As in the ancient apotheoses, Elias, standing in the chariot inside a circle of fire or within flames streaming from the fiery horses, mounts heavenwards, pointing to the hand of God which appears at the upper corner in a glory and signifies the divine will. A flying Angel bears up the fiery circle. Below, the Prophet Elisha, astounded and dismayed at this sight, clutches at his teacher's mantle as he is borne away. On the ground there is nothing but the dry bed of a brook and in a crack in the rocks a ball of the manna which nourished the Israelites, or else a figure of Elias sleeping by the brook and woken up by an angel at God's command. Of course in the fifth-century carving we have the work of an artist-sculptor who gives us an effective back view of Elisha with beautiful folds of his himation, whereas in the Russian icon he is clumsily snatching the mantle from Elias. A curious point is that as the Vulgate, following the Hebrew (2 Kings ii. 13), has *pallium*, mantle, at S. Sabina it is a mere mantle; but the LXX has *μηλωτή*, a sheepskin (justified by the description of Elias in the preceding chapter), and the Russian artist has made it a sheepskin accordingly, and this was the regular wear for prophets and hermits; compare the description of S. John the Baptist (Matt. iii. 4).

Much more interesting are the icons of local saints honoured in

¹ Pl. XXV: Russian Museum, No. 1575. 'S. Egor (George) the Brave saved a city | from a serpent by name Laoseya and the Kin[g]'s daughter from being eaten by the serpent by name . . . aya.' A similar S. George in Réau, Pl. 31. For the names see Veselovski, *Acad. Misc.*, xxi, p. 83.

² Grabar'-Muratov, p. 34.

³ Kondakov, 'Les Sculptures de la porte de S. Sabine', *Revue Archéologique*, 1877, pp. 361-72; Wiegand, *Altchristliche Hauptportal und Reliefs der S. Sabina*, 1900, Taf. 20; Diehl, *Manuel*, p. 283, f. 139.



XXV. S. GEORGE
Novgorod School. XVI cent.



XXVI. SS. FLORUS AND LAURUS

Novgorod School. XV cent.

the Nóvgorod region : these the icon-painters had to compose according to the accustomed scheme but without actual models. Such is the fixed icon of *SS. Blaise and Spyridion* in S. Blaise's Church at Nóvgorod. The saints are pictured sitting upon thrones in the upper part of the icon : from them fall steeply down mountains divided into small rocks with shaly tops (technically termed *pydtochki*, 'heels', by the icon-painters, cf. Pls. XXVI, XXIX, XL) : on the mountain and at its foot there is a herd of oxen, horses, and sheep, and by them lions ; in fact the whole thing is just like the icons entitled *Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord* (Pl. XXVIII), or *All creation rejoiceth in thee* (vide p. 106). After the same fashion were painted icons of *SS. Florus and Laurus*, very popular in the Nóvgorod region as patrons of horse-raising ; it is full of water meadows along the rivers. In the Russian Museum there is a big 'fixed' icon very roughly executed, which attracts attention by the brightness and variety of its colours. On such a hill as we have described, with masses of rocks crowned by shaly tops, but with a curious architectural background, the Archangel Michael blesses *SS. Florus and Laurus* as they stand below on one side and the other : they are clothed as patricians, one a grown man with a beard, the other in the form of a youth ; both hold out their hands in reverence to the Angel. Below pass three horsemen in three periods of life driving to water a herd of horses : all three wear Phrygian caps, or, as the Russians called them, Grecian helmets, with a high white crown and long *revers* ; Italians called this fashion *alla grecanica* in the fourteenth century.¹

We find a specially conspicuous place in Nóvgorod icon-painting taken by *S. Parasceve*,² who had in very early times become among the Balkan and north-western Slavs the patroness of trade. Legend spoke of two *SS. Parasceve*, a Roman martyr of the Antonine period, and one who suffered at Iconium under Diocletian : the name was given by parents who kept that day holy by fasting and prayer. But the fifth week-day³ had always belonged to the female sex and was appropriated to holy women and virgins. This regard for the day prevailed in south Italy and Sicily, Candia, and Venice. The *Pyatnitsa* whom the Slavs venerated was a great recluse and ascetic, but she

¹ Pl. XXVI. The heading is something like 'The Archangel Michael giving the care of the flocks to Florus and Laurus'. Ο Α'Θ'ΑΡΟ = ὁ ἄγιος Ἐρὼλ doubly misspelt for Flor, Ο Α'ΑΑΒΡ. The horsemen are said to be Seth, Eliseth, and Eustace. Other renderings in Réau, Pl. 37, Grabar'-Muratov, p. 19, show the archangel holding the reins of two saddled horses.

² Praskóvia, translated as *Pyátnitsa*, Friday, the fifth week-day, from *pyat'*, five : see A. N. Veselóvski, *Paraskeva-Pyatnitsa*. The life of S. Parasceve was written by Euthymius, Patriarch of Trnovo, 1375-93.

³ Slavs begin counting with Monday, so the words for Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday derive from 'second', 'fourth', and 'fifth' : Greeks and Latins begin with Sunday.

became the patroness of maidens and wives and even of marriage. In her tenderness and anxiety to save women and maidens she taught them the Christian way of life, especially the keeping of Friday by fasting, and in return conferred upon people health, land, and harvests. In the north of Russia on the 28th of October were held special services for women, as it were mysteries of S. Pyátnitsa, and in all the villages food was prepared and high festival held. It is interesting to note that the icons of S. Parasceve long preserved the early Christian type of a deaconess wearing above her patrician dress a special kerchief surrounding the head and with each end falling from it upon the shoulders; this is really the stole marking the order of deaconesses as taking the place of deacons.¹

We may conclude this chapter by mentioning the appearance in Nóvgorod of icons showing whole families and called '*the Prayer*' (*molénie*) of such a family. Fortunately in the Nóvgorod Museum is preserved such a one with an inscription of the end of the fifteenth century. 'The servants of God, Gregory, Mary, James, Stephen, Eusebius (?), Timothy, Olthim (Anthimus ?) and their children pray the Saviour and the Most Pure Theotokos because of their sins.' The inscription had once a date but now it is impossible to distinguish whether the icon should be placed in 1475 or 1493; the style supports the latter figure.² The icon is, as it were, in two stories; above is the *Deesis*, the Saviour on the throne with the open gospel in His left hand, on His right Our Lady, SS. Michael and Peter, on His left SS. John the Baptist, Gabriel, and Paul. All the figures are so characteristic in their excessive tallness and the drawing of the folds that we may take the whole composition as belonging to the style of the sixteenth century and its chief representatives of whom we shall treat in Chapter VI. Below we have a monotonous string of members of the family, four on one side and three on the other, between the groups two children on a tiny scale, all standing and raising their hands in an identical attitude of prayer. A special carpet-like design semé of stars and short bars covers the floor: it is characteristic of Nóvgorod work of the latter part of the fifteenth century and occurs in other icons in the Russian Museum and in the Nóvgorod Collection (e. g. Pl. VIII. 2).

¹ This hardly appears on Pl. XV, but is well seen in Réau, Pl. 23.

² I cannot understand these dates: Anisimov, *Sofia*, 3, pp. 9-28, gives a plate of the whole (= Halle, 25) and eight enlargements of details. He does not trust the repainted S40€ = A. M. 6975 = A. D. 1467, but accepts

'Indiction 1̄€' (15) which allows 1467, 1482 (unless € be right), and 1497 (if 3€ be possible), but rules out Kondakov's 1475 or 1493, and Buslaev's (ii, p. 308) 1487. Now Muratov, *Peinture*, p. 92, ascribes it to the fourteenth century. We must wait for more knowledge. E. H. M.

VI

THE XVITH CENTURY. MYSTICAL AND DIDACTIC SUBJECTS

WORKS of art must be analysed from two points of view, artistic form and spiritual content : but this analysis is one, as form and content are each the immediate condition of the other and depend one upon the other. At the first theoretical glance it would appear that form is the decisive, the governing side, since it is the form's powers that condition the possibility of expressing the subject in execution. This attitude is natural and necessary as long as Art lives independently, but when it begins to borrow from external models the fashion of its development changes and with it that of the artistic handicraft. Such has been the position of European art in general ever since the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the great artistic upward movement that we are accustomed to call the Renaissance finished its work, and there was attained, as it were, a definite artistic mould recognized by almost all Europe as perfect or at least generally acceptable and as the only conceivable basis for further progress. Just at this moment came the culmination of the creative process in French religious art and for it there set in a period of neglect which destroyed in countless numbers the masterpieces that filled the churches at the close of the Middle Ages. The next stage was the elaboration of the results achieved by the genius and skill of Raphael, Michael Angelo, and Leonardo, and at the same time a worship of them as being the perfection of art, at any rate upon the side of form. The circle of artists who were responsible for this aesthetic valuation proclaimed that the perfection they had attained was the model that all should imitate, side by side with the antique. Naturally eastern Europe hastened to adopt certain forms of this art and apply them to its own religious craft, the more so that in the sixteenth century the West was still continuing to treat religious subjects. The famous Panselinos, working at Protaton on Mount Athos about 1540, used the artistic models of Italy in order once more to renew Byzantine art by the forms and methods of Italian painting, and it is clear that Panselinos was not the only one. As the representative of a special level of craftsmanship, Panselinos is put

by himself in the Greek painters' guides,¹ but mention is also made of the Italo-Cretan painting and its head, with Theophanes the Cretan who was working on Athos at about the same time, decorating the chief church of the Lavra in 1535.² These two schools only differed in manner and were not in opposition to each other. However, Panselinos is not to be considered a representative of the Venetian craft of icon-painting in the same way that we can assert this of the Italo-Cretans, as both Venice and Crete have the same rich deep colouring and have passed it on to their derivatives.

The icons of the sixteenth century, whether Greek or Russian, and among these, both of the Nóvgorod and of the earliest Moscow schools, have something in common about their style, also some kinship with Italian design in the sixteenth century and the Venetian colouring. But the general look continues to impress upon us that Greek icon-painting in every respect held fast to the fundamental Byzantine type. This makes all the questions involving Western influence on east European art very subtle and complicated. It is a case of homologous artistic processes going on side by side, but taking their own course and quite unconfounded, not even mixed one with another.

The more characteristic and the more surprising is the parallelism between East and West which we can observe in the content of religious art. At the end of the fifteenth century east Greek icon-painting, and after it that of Russia, began a long-enduring process by which the subjects treated were extended to embrace a number of mystical and didactic themes unknown to Byzantium. *S. Sophia—the Divine Wisdom*, an idea long familiar to Byzantium but only in the late fifteenth century embodied and represented upon a Greek icon; *The Only-begotten Son—The Word of God*; *The Fatherhood of God*; *In the Grave in the Flesh*; *Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord*; *Let us come, ye People, and worship God in three Persons*; *The Six Days*; *God rested on the Seventh Day*; *Credo*; *Pater Noster*; *It is meet to glorify thee, Theotokos*; *In thee rejoiceth, O Gracious One (B.V.M.), every Creature*; *The Praise of the Theotokos*; *The Burning Bush*; *The Assembly³ of Our Lady*; *The Assembly of the Archangel Michael*; *The Assembly of the Archangel Gabriel*; *All SS. Sunday*; *Mid-Pentecost*; *The Liturgy*; ⁴ *The Indiction*; *The Vision of Eulogius*;

¹ e. g. ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, p. 3. τὸν ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης δίκην σελήνης λάμψαντα κῦρ Μανουὴλ τὸν Πανσέληνον.

² G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie*, pp. 656–60. He is, of course, not to be

confused with the Theophanes who worked in Russia c. 1400.

³ *Sobór*, see p. 3, n. 3.

⁴ Our Lord celebrating in his own person, served by angels.

The Restoration of the Church of the Resurrection, and suchlike. In the course of this Chapter nearly all these compositions will be discussed and many of them are illustrated (see especially Pls. XXVII–XXXIV). A further series of icon-subjects with an ethical purpose, based upon eschatological representations inculcating a moral life, came in with the last stage of Greek icon-painting and that of Moscow in the seventeenth century.

With the appearance of the didactic subjects there began during the fourteenth century a growing complication of the whole iconography of the Eastern Church: this affected both the compositions of the *Festivals* telling the story of Our Lord, Our Lady, and of the Church, and also the subjects for the iconostases.¹ In these there appeared the Orders (*Chiný*) or tiers of Prophets and Patriarchs, representations of the sages of antiquity, the parables, and subjects from the monastic cycle, edifying, didactic, anecdotic, highly composite, and including many figures. All this material is so far known only in parts, e.g. Dr. Millet's treatment of the Gospel scenes. A feature of these compositions is that they are not so much artistic as literary, many of them illustrating and incorporating prayers, canticles, and formulae used in the service of the Church, but it will require much work to seek out in Greek and Russian texts the passages which have given rise to all of them and to order them in an historical group. We can but select a few outstanding examples from this class and give these only in late versions. If we apply to this special group the general name of 'didactic icons', which will serve until a better can be found, we shall definitely exclude the prejudice with which some interpreters approach the matter—a prejudice that makes them find in these icons a deep and mystical symbolism and ascribe it all to the spirit of the Russian people, which is supposed to have attained to the farthest depths of a religious understanding of the universe by its own power and penetration. As a matter of fact this symbolism was elaborated by the Greek monastic icon-painting of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. We cannot indeed so far point to Greek originals for all these subjects, but their descriptions in the Greek painters' guides are as good evidence as actual works of art, and we must constantly bear in mind that further study of icons in the Grecian East will reveal to us many originals. It is equally wrong to deny the existence of any mystical side to the

¹ Dr. Millet's work above quoted, the result of many years of study, gives an immense store of material, no less than 670 trustworthy pictures, and puts the

whole complicated question of the style and content of medieval Christian iconography upon a scientific basis. N. P. K.

Greek models : a symbolic manner of presenting both subjects and details has been the constant practice of Christian art from the first beginnings of icon-painting in the East. Of course there is no denying that such didactic themes encouraged both monks and laymen in ancient Russia to apply ill-understood reading to a consciously superior delight in far-fetched interpretations and edifying divinations.¹

Still any absurdities of far-fetched interpretation whether on the part of these old Russian pedants or of modern aesthetes, who indulge in similar fancies out of a false patriotism, are, as it were, excused by the divagations into Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist-lore of modern orientalist who discover deep mysteries of religious interpretation in the iconography and even the ornament of India, Central Asia, and China. Of course at the base of all iconographic subjects was religion, and faith is, as it were, yoked to mystic presentation, and it is our business to make clear this religious basis. But there is no need to read symbolic significance and see spiritual illumination in the fact that the lions on each side of *Daniel* are painted different bright colours. So with the pond and swans in an icon of the *Nativity of Our Lady* : this was borrowed from Western models as part of the rich and patrician setting for the birth and washing of Our Lady : there is no need to regard it as a symbol of the immaculate purity of SS. Joachim and Anne.²

It may be added that these very Greek originals of the new themes really owed their origin to Latin medieval scholasticism : illustrated commentaries upon the Gospels or Nicholas de Lyra and works like *Speculum Paulini*, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, were a kind of storehouse from which the Greek and Italian (especially Venetian) icon-painters drew their new fine-drawn scholastic subjects. The chief mark of these innovations is the very great number of figures, amounting sometimes to hundreds, introduced into the composition and the complicated architectural scenery required to find places for them. In the West, and particularly in Italy, themes derived from illustrations to MSS. only rarely passed into wall-painting for the simple reason that this province was now specialized and had worked out its own iconographic cycles. Still at Padua and yet more at Venice, thanks to the Greek and Greco-Italian icon-painting that flourished there, we do find painters working upon the same didactic line and evidently borrowing from illuminated MSS.

¹ The low level of instruction attainable in ancient Russia made the *nachëtchik*, the man who was full of reading without much understanding, so common as to require a special word to denote him.

² See *Cat. of Count A. S. Uvârov's Collection of Icons*, 1907, Pt. IV, Nos. 22-5. For a Western ascription of wonderful content to Russian icons see Halle's introduction.

Видѣнїе крѣхъ лицехъ въ шѣхъ и сплотивѣхъ истинъ дѣе троицѣ неразрѣчно трѣхъ про
савѣно савѣмъ и поклѣнемъ



Се вѣзвѣдѣше
листа тѣмъ
свѣтъ бѣли и
взрѣхъ гдѣ мого
ѡ хрѣста во шѣхъ
юниши де на дѣ
савѣтѣхъ и ѡ
шѣтѣхъ савѣ
ще нѣхъ савѣ
ѡко немощи
возвѣти нѣхъ
зрѣтѣхъ шѣхъ
ѡго савѣхъ
шѣхъ бѣхъ
тоиъ бѣхъ

Норазрѣхъ
рѣхъ дѣхъ
ѡгоже шѣхъ
кѣхъ и шѣхъ
ѡгоже шѣхъ
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Let us take one or two such compositions: first, for instance, the *Creed* (*Symbolum Fidei*, of course the Nicene Creed), which is represented in well-known stereotyped scenes arranged in five or more rows. The precise choice of themes to illustrate particular articles is curious; for instance, the clause 'Light of Light' is represented by the *Transfiguration*; 'the creation of Man' is performed by the *Angel of the Great Council* (*Sovêt*);¹ the establishment of the Doctrine of the Logos is illustrated by the scheme of the *First Oecumenical Council* (*Sobor*).

The so-called *Vision of Peter of Alexandria* is more extraordinary.² The marginal inscriptions describe it: 'Lo suddenly a great light flooded the prison and I saw my Lord Jesus Christ in the form of a youth of twelve years having a countenance that shined more than the sun so that I could not look upon its unspeakable glory: and He was wrapped in a white chiton torn apart from the top to the bottom which He was holding together with His hands at His breast to cover His nakedness: and I asked Him, "Who tore Thy vesture, O Saviour": and the Lord answered, "The senseless Arius tore it: receive him not into communion!"' Our Lord has the wings of an Angel, but His three heads and $\overline{\text{IC}} \overline{\text{XC}}$, $\text{O} \overline{\text{WN}}$, on His haloes show who He is.

The title *The All-wisdom of God* (*Sophia Premúdrost' Bózhíya*) is applied to two entirely different compositions; the first, a Nóvgorod subject, afterwards in favour at Moscow, arose from an ancient interpretation taken from a psalter explained with illustrations: it shows an Angel within a church holding up its roof: a fiery Angel sits upon a throne, with the Blessed Virgin and S. John the Baptist before him. Later this icon received a special heading to explain that the Angel takes the place of the Saviour—the God-Man: 'Thou art fairer than the children of men' (Ps. xlv. 2). The latter form, best known at Kiev, blends Sophia with the Wisdom (as in Proverbs), who is Our Lady, the central point of the Christian Church at its foundation: this is clearly a copy of a Greek original, spread in south Russia under the influence of the Moldavo-Wallachian school.³

As dogmatic representations of the God in Three Persons we

¹ The Eastern Church took long to overcome a feeling against representing God directly save in the forms of the God-Man, and of the Dove for the Second and Third Persons. Acts that cannot be put down to the Logos are pictured as performed by an Angel representing the Supreme Council of the Godhead, the Trinity. Such an Angel, save for his wings, may become indistinguishable from a figure of Our Lord.

² Pl. XXVII. Headings: 'The Vision in three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the Trinity of the indivisibly Three, most gloriously we glorify and worship.' 'The Holy Bishop Peter saw by night in prison.'

³ Several patterns of this subject are reproduced by Kondakov, *Iconogr. of Our Saviour*, 16, 18, 19: Likhachëv, *Materials*, CXIII. 210.

have the subjects *The Coal of Isaiah* (Isa. vi. 6) and *The Lord God in Powers*, that is, the Lord of Hosts,¹ among the Cherubim and Seraphim, Our Lady as interceding for mortals, and a circle with Emmanuel.² A simpler rendering is *Paternity* (*Otéchestvo*), God the Father sitting on a throne holding Emmanuel upon His knees and the Holy Spirit descending upon Him in the form of a dove:³ or perhaps later the Father and Son side by side, as on p. 43.

A widely spread theme was *Our Saviour of the Blessed Silence* (*Spas Blagóe Molchánie*): a half-length of an Angel with his arms crossed upon his breast in a star-shaped nimbus, representing Jesus Christ before the Incarnation. This is the most interesting of the *people's* devotional icons; by its very subject it should quiet the troublous emotions of life and impart an atmosphere of prayer: and this effect should be produced by the most exalted religious idea of the Son of Man, who brought to the world the understanding of God as being near to man and every man's Heavenly Father. It is a remarkable fact that this devotional icon was always an icon for the people and all copies of it are roughly executed. No artist thought of reproducing this grateful theme. Count A. S. Uvárov, in the posthumous catalogue of his icons, gives this one after an eighteenth-century copy from Archangel: it shows a young Christ with an Angel's wings, an eight-pointed crown of rainbow colours, and the inscription 'the spirit of understanding', 'the spirit of wisdom', 'the spirit of the fear of the Lord' (Isa. xi. 2). Such an icon deepens the sense of the subject by the interpretation.

On the other hand the subjects *Praise ye the Name of the Lord*, or *Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord*, founded on Psalms cxlviii, cxlix, cl, and derived from illuminated psalters, were in favour from the end of the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, being complicated and picturesque: rendered on a great scale with many human and animal figures, they produced a monumental effect covering the sides of the principal piers in the churches of Nóvgorod, Pskov, and Moscow. Among the Greeks the subject covered the walls of corridors or porches, but in Russia it became something more than merely edifying. Much naïve religious enthusiasm went to giving an order for icons so complicated and so brilliant in their decorative execution as that in the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Nóvgorod. In it were united not only all the real animals, each praising God in

¹ Ps. cxlviii. 2, 'Praise him, all his hosts,' Heb. Sabaoth, Gr. *δυνάμεις*. Both these appear in reduced form on the complex Pl. XXXIII, but the *Coal* may be of most mystic geometry, Likhachëv, *Materials*,

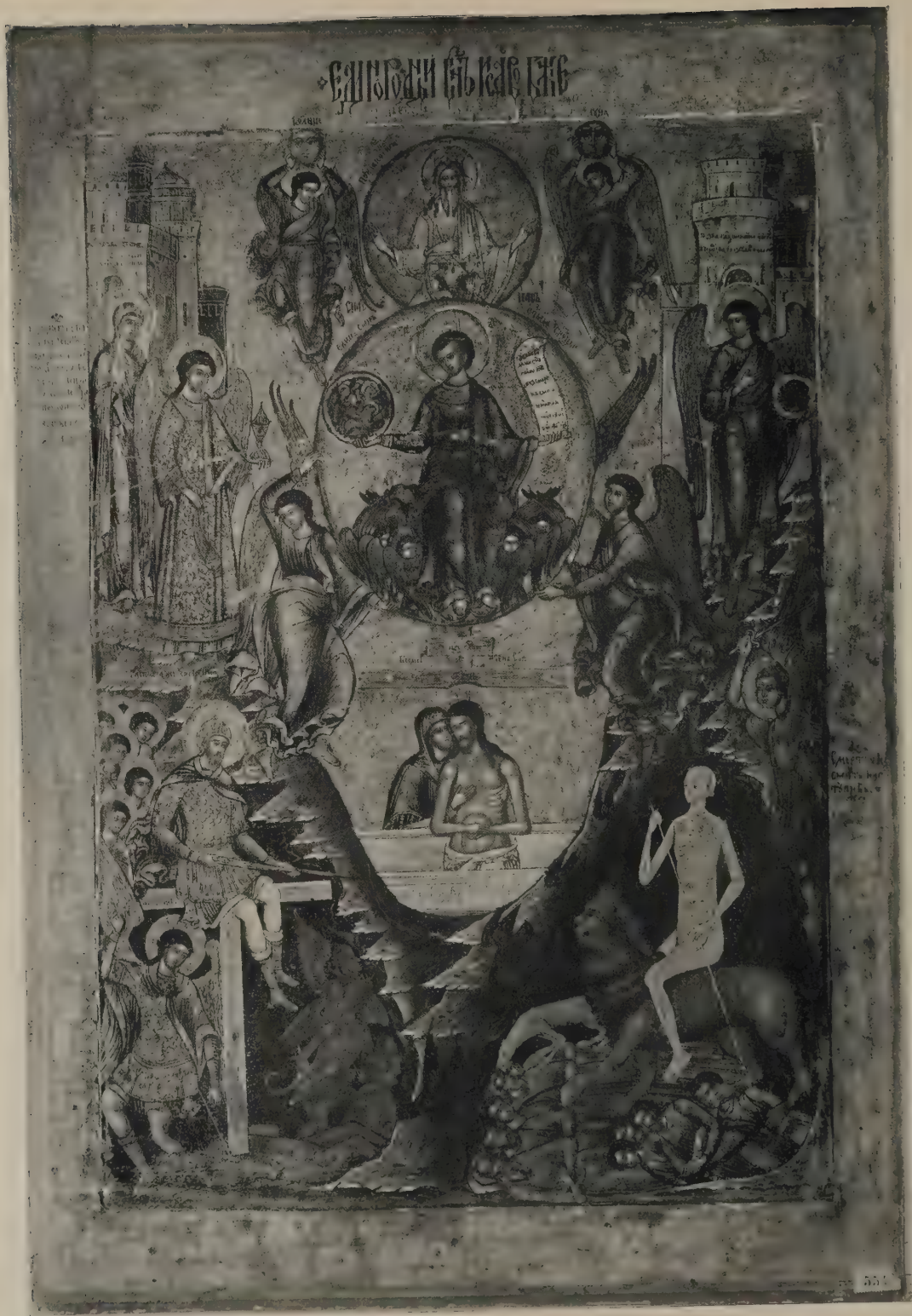
Pl. CCCXVIII, 611.

² Emmanuel is Our Lord as a very young man, almost a boy.

³ On a tiny scale upon Pl. XLII.



XXVIII. O PRAISE THE LORD OF HEAVEN
(Psalm cxlviii). XVII cent.



XXIX. THE ONLY-BEGOTTEN SON, THE WORD OF GOD

XVI cent.

his own fashion, lion, giraffe, camel, goat, aurochs, elephant, and bear, but also the mythical, Echidna, Malkonida (Siren), Scymnus,¹ and such. Also there were groups of Holy Bishops, Fathers of the Church in white vestments, Sainted Princes in rich coats and brocade cloaks, all in five tiers.²

The Only-begotten Son and Word of God (Pl. XXIX) was a very favourite subject with Moscow icon-painting in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; I do not remember meeting one of the Nóvgorod school. It is an extreme example of tortured scholastic thought: at first it was of an ordinary size, but later was made smaller and smaller till it was no more than eight inches (20 cm.) high. This was one of the icons which by their novelty most aroused the indignation of Viskováty the Clerk (see p. 152). The parts which make up the whole are connected by externals only: they are the product of a scholastic attempt to display a solution of the problems involved in the earthly life of the God-Man. (For the heading see p. xxii.)

At the top, in the centre, flanked by the angels of the 'Sun' and 'Moon', is a medallion lettered 'Let us worship the Father and the Holy Spirit', who appear within it. Below the words 'Save us', and about an oval we read 'One Son' and 'Holy Trinity'. This oval is supported by 'Angels of the Lord': in it, 'Jesus Christ' among the Cherubim, holding a roundel with the Four Beasts and a scroll inscribed 'The Only-begotten Word of God, being immortal and without beginning'. On His right, backed by buildings inscribed 'The Cup of the wrath of God', an Angel with a chalice, and behind him Our Lady: by her on the frame the words 'Who didst deign for our sake to be incarnate by the Theotokos, the Ever-Virgin Mary, and wast indubitably made man', and below, 'and wast crucified, O God Christ'. On the other side an Angel, with the word 'Holy' in a roundel, backed by buildings inscribed 'God has arisen from Sion to judge the people'. Below in the centre, the *Pietà*, a Western subject, called in Russian *Mother weep not for Me*: on the cross 'King of Glory' and 'Immortal Son'. On the dexter side below, the cross is set up above the abyss: Our Lord as a warrior sits upon it, and the 'Angel of the Lord' puts the devils to flight. On the sinister side a Cherub strikes Death as he rides over recumbent humanity: on the frame, 'By death He has trodden down Death'.

¹ Malkonida is a corruption of Halcyon and is a woman-headed bird. Scymnus is the LXX equivalent for the A. V.'s 'whelp', 'young lion', and sometimes even 'old' or 'great lion': he is represented with wide-open jaws.

² Pl. XXVIII gives most of this scheme: the inscriptions reproduce much of Ps. cxlviii which it fully illustrates: the animals labelled are 'deer, evil beast, bear, elephant, horse, evil snake, hare, cow, goat, blind worm (?), basilisk (?), cockadril, fox'.

The inscriptions give a free version of the second canticle in the Liturgy. *Mother weep not for Me* occurs as a separate icon, so does the *Entombment*, called *In the Grave in the Flesh*, another importation from the West derived from the fifteenth-century development of the iconography of the Passion in mysteries, carved and painted altars, calvaries, wayside crosses, and Stations of the Cross as well as in the miniatures of Books of Hours. With these belong icons of the Crucifixion, complicated with pictures of the instruments of the Passion and inscribed explanations.

Akin to these new scenes of the Passion are three new additions to the series of Festivals; the icon for *Mid-Pentecost*,¹ celebrating Our Lord's first reading in the Temple; *The Procession of the Venerable Wood of Our Lord's Life-giving Cross* and *The Commencement of the Indiction*. They have a general interest as proofs of the way ancient religious traditions were preserved in the Russian Church and taken into the life of the people in old Russia. For instance, the *Procession of the Holy Cross*² recalls the ancient festival held in Byzance on the 1st of August to celebrate the consecration with a piece of the True Cross of a spring and bathing pool outside the sea-wall of the city. At the top is a five-domed church, before it the *Deesis*, Our Lord flanked by Our Lady and S. John Baptist; beyond them 'S. John Chrysostom' and 'S. Basil the Great'. Below are 'the sick men in the pool'. It is curious that the Cross is not to be seen. The inset shows 'Holy Martyrs Maccabees seven brothers in the flesh, their mother Salomonea, and their teacher Eleazar' (*vide* 2 Macc. vi, vii), whose festival was on the same day.

The Commencement of the Indiction that is to say of the New Year.³ The fine icon on Pl. XXXI represents the festival which hallowed the beginning of the year upon the 1st of September. The subject is Our Lord's preaching at Nazareth (Luke iv. 16-19), beginning with the words upon the book, 'The spirit of the Lord is upon me' and ending, 'to preach the acceptable year of the Lord'. On this day Muscovite Russia established a solemn celebration of the New Year with a procession in which the Patriarch took part. The basis of the composition is to be found in a scene which always heads the MS. Menologion (e. g. that of Basil in the Vatican), whether

¹ Half-way between Easter and Pentecost is read John vii. 14, 'Now about the midst of the feast Jesus went up into the temple, and taught': the scene is much like *Christ among the Doctors*: Pl. LVII on the left between *Ascension* and *Holy Trinity*.

² Pl. XXX. *Procession of the Venerable*

and Life-giving Cross: the Slavonic word, translated 'Procession', generally means 'origin', but here renders *προέλευσις*.

³ The Indiction is a period of fifteen years generally reckoned to start at A. D. 312, going back to an ancient revaluation of taxable property.



XXX. THE PROCESSION OF THE VENERABLE AND LIFE-GIVING CROSS
XVII cent.



XXXI. THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE INDICATION (NEW YEAR)

XVII cent. Kiev Museum. Pages 108, 166

Greek or Russian, that is to say, a calendar beginning with the 1st of September and containing pictures of saints. No Greek *icon* of this subject is known. This remarkable icon (a copy of one actually executed for one of the Stróganovs, *vide* p. 167) shows us not Nazareth but the Temple at Jerusalem (but the town walls are perfectly Russian) and an open court in front of it in which is set up a lectern for the preacher between the groups of 'Jews' and 'Apostles'. The idea was that the New Year was celebrated in order that it might be 'acceptable' for Christians.

Another edifying subject is the illustration to Genesis entitled *God rested on the Seventh Day*: it was intended to bring to the Christian's remembrance, on the Sunday day of rest, the history of the first days of Creation, the Fall, and Cain's first sin. In the upper part the Creator is now represented as God the Father; this goes against the Greek rule forbidding the representation of God in any form but that of the Word, the God-Man, or else in the form of Angels, messengers from the Supreme Council of the Trinity. At one side of this was a representation of *God the Father 'in powers'*, that is, among the stars and powers or host of heaven (*vide* p. 106, n. 1) and a roundel with the Byzantine subject of *Our Lady with the Sign*, that is, bearing Emmanuel upon a medallion (*vide* p. 67, n. 1), and also God the Father seated on a throne, holding before Him the Crucified Son who again stands by His side holding in His hands the roll of the Gospel. Below there is a view of Paradise, an enclosed garden with various beasts.¹

*Our Saviour of the Unsleeping Eye*² is a symbolic subject much in favour with the Greek fresco-painters: it passed into the later Russian icon-painting and became part of the set of subjects illustrating the Acathist (*vide* p. 181) of Our Lady. It is essentially an incident in the Flight into Egypt, transmuted by the Greeks into a fanciful scene. The sleeping Child lies in the midst of a garden but upon a couch and His eyes are open. His sleep is watched by His Mother and an Angel who is here holding the instruments of the Passion (cf. p. 112). Another fans him. In some versions a lion sleeping is added in reference to the passage in Genesis (xlix. 9): 'He couched as a lion; who shall rouse him up?'

A large number of symbolic and didactic subjects were devoted, from the end of the fifteenth century, to Our Lady. The first place may be given to the icon entitled *The Assembly (Sobor, vide* p. 3, n. 3) *of the Theotokos*; it embodies the significance of a special festival

¹ Kondakov, *Iconogr. of Our Lord*, p. 69, f. 111: a simpler form, Buslaev, *op. cit.* ii, p. 291. ² Pl. XXXII. Heading: *The Unsleeping Image*.

held on the 26th of December, the day after the celebration of Our Lord's Nativity. It mechanically illustrates the chief hymns of the Christmas service and so has a narrowly didactic character. A curious survival from the antique is that the Earth and the Desert are personified as bringing their respective gifts, the cave and the manger.¹ It must be added that such a detail as the herbs within the manger is to be taken literally as the hay, not as a symbol of the new birth that has arisen since the Nativity. Nor is the ordinary Byzantine cushion, put on the ground to sit on, to be called a sack of grain and interpreted symbolically.

At the end of the fifteenth century, either at the convent of Sinai or elsewhere in the Greek East, a subject of peculiar complication in its didactic content, *Our Lady the Burning Bush* (lit. the Bush that is not consumed), was invented. The Acathist calls her the 'Burning Bush', the 'Cloud of Light', the 'High Ladder of Jacob', the 'Ladder that raises all from the Ground'. In Byzantine illustrated psalters we find the Burning Bush with Our Lady and the Child within it, and Sion is represented as a building with such a picture upon it. After the fashion of the Bush, the type of the Sign (*Známénie*) began to put the Child within the Star of Bethlehem. Again the Acathist says that the Virgin Mary is herself 'the Star that shows the Sun—Christ', as well as the Cloud of Light and the Burning Bush, and so the star in the icon *Burning Bush* is double with the rays alternately red and blue. Pl. XXXIII shows the subject in its most complicated form. The inscriptions are too long, incorrect, and indistinct for full translation. In the midst of the star, Our Lady, whose vesture is the clouds and sun, holds the Child upon her left arm and the ladder in her right hand; upon her breast is the picture of our Lord as High Priest. About them is a ring of Cherubim. In the four red arms of the star are four Archangels; that to Our Lady's left is called the Spirit of the fear of God and of thunder: that below is Raphael with the cup, that to her right holds the rainbow, that above is upon clouds. The blue rays have the symbols of the four Evangelists, but Mark is the ox, Luke the eagle, and John the lion. Between the rays are eight Angels, the spirits of rain clouds, fire and snow, storm, wisdom, the cutting off and burning of the blasphemous, reason, frost, and lightning. Above the star is the Lord God of Sabaoth, below it Jesse (Isa. xi. 1): at the four corners Moses and the Burning Bush (Exod. iii. 2), Isaiah and the Coal (Isa.

¹ Millet, p. 166, f. 121, frescoes at Ravanica, xiv c.; Buslaev, *Old-Russian Popular Lit. and Art*, ii, p. 86; *Zoloté Runó*

(*Toison d'Or*), Sept. 1906, p. 13; Grabar²-Muratov, p. 101: it is suggested by the word of the Christmas *kontakion*.



XXXII. OUR SAVIOUR OF THE UNSLEEPING EYE

XVI cent.



XXXIII. OUR LADY—THE BURNING BUSH

XVII cent.

vi. 1), Jacob and the Ladder (Gen. xxviii. 1), and Ezekiel and the Door (Ezek. xlv. 1). The texts illustrating these five figures are upon the frame. To right and left are a male and a female Martyr, no doubt patrons of the first owner; their names are covered by the frame. The presence of these Angels of destruction with Our Lady, who protects against all misfortunes, made people keep this icon in their houses as a protection against fire and other damage. To the same class belongs the icon of *Our Lady the Stone cut out without hands* (Dan. ii. 34).

No icon set up to the glory of Our Lady more commonly adorns a church than that called *In thee rejoiceth*: the title comes from an anthem beginning 'In thee rejoiceth, O Gracious One, every creature: the Quire of the Angels and the race of Man, O reasonable Paradise, O praise of Virgins, &c.', which follows the prayer of consecration in the Liturgy of S. Basil. The icon is certainly modelled upon *Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord*, and occurs in Greek work; but we must allow special artistic merit to the Russian copyists who recast these models towards the end of the fifteenth century after the best Nóvgorod style, e. g. the example in the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Nóvgorod. Another example, a large 'fixed' icon, is in the Russian Museum.¹ The general scheme is as follows: a hill, covered with wide-branched oaks with cypress foliage, slopes up to a five-domed church with rows of merlons and rounded gablets (as on Pl. XXX or XXXVI) on the roof. Before the great door stands a monumental throne, and upon it Our Lady in a 'cloudy' (blue) glory, surrounded by a circle of Angels standing upon the hill. Down the slope are groups or quires of Holy Bishops, S. John Damascene at their head, Monks, Prophets (among them the three Magi), Hermits, Apostles, Saints, Virgins, among them S. Maria Egyptiaca veiled in her hair (as at the extreme right on Pl. XXXVI), among the Saints in the Nóvgorod icon is the Penitent Thief as representing those who are in Paradise. In the Museum icon there is across the top a strip of bluey-green cloud setting off the quires of Angels as they bow in homage to Our Lady. This strip of cloud shows that we have here the later of the two icons as it first appears in Moldavo-Wallachian work of the sixteenth century. This later icon is admirable in colouring, especially in the groups of Monks and Holy Bishops in white raiment, Apostles and Hermits, but it is quite spoilt by the weak pink of the church walls. In the drawing, too, we find a prentice hand, e. g. in the summary treatment of the folds. Also Our Lady is not blessing the people as she ought to do in this icon; but her right arm falls straight down by her side. This is not because the painter

¹ Likhachëv, *Materials*, cxv. 206: this subject in colour, Wulff-Alpatoff, p. 199, f. 87.

did not know the subject, but because the draughtsman used the reverse side of the tracing and so the figure was the other way round :¹ accordingly the piece of cloak which ought to sway out under the right arm raised for blessing came under the left arm and hangs down in a tail from the left side of the figure : in the same way the draperies of other figures are confused, King David and S. Peter. Nevertheless, thanks to the decorative value of the lower groups, the icon produces a pleasant impression and the whole composition is majestic and full of religious enthusiasm.

Under the titles *Praise to the Theotokos* and *From above the Prophets foretold thee*, similar compositions found favour in the Moscow school, but in them was adopted a Western fashion which is unsuitable to icons ; each Prophet bears a scroll with a long quotation of praise, and each figure holds prominently an emblem, David the Ark of the Covenant, Solomon a model of the Temple, Daniel a rock, Moses the bush, Aaron the rod that budded, Zacharias a sickle, Jacob a ladder, Ezekiel a door, Isaiah a coal, Gideon a fleece of wool, Habakkuk a mountain.²

Still more complicated is the icon that illustrates the anthem *It is meet indeed to glorify thee, the Theotokos*,³ as it is divided into four parts, each generally similar in composition with small variations in the lower groups and in the posture of Our Lady, sitting or standing. Once more I must insist upon the bad effect of this monastic and didactic turn upon the artistic side of icon-painting : a good case is the subject called *The Annunciation of the Passion*. Towards the end of the fifteenth century the influence of Italian painting gained so much power over Greco-Oriental icon-painting that there even came into being an icon of *Our Lady of the Passion*⁴ which afterwards passed to Moscow, where in honour of a miraculous icon of this name was founded the great nunnery of the Passion. Our Lady bearing the Child upon her left arm sees Angels bringing the instruments of Our Lord's Passion, the cross and spear. In the *Annunciation of the Passion* (Pl. XXXIV) the Archangel Gabriel has likewise brought a cross and Our Lady turns to the Child who has half shrunk away

¹ An extreme case of such reversing is that of a massacre of the Holy Innocents in which the soldiers hold their swords in their left hands. Buslaev, *op. cit.* ii, p. 390.
2. 7 : a sufficiently obvious case is on p. 43.

² See the Greek *Painters' Guide*, pp. 146, 147.

³ 'It is meet indeed to glorify thee, the Theotokos, ever blessed and sinless and the

Mother of Our God. As more honourable than the Cherubim, beyond compare more glorious than the Seraphim, as having immaculately borne God the Word, as being the Theotokos we magnify thee' : in the ordinary liturgy of S. John Chrysostom it takes the place of 'In thee rejoiceth'. For the icon cf. Grabar'-Muratov, p. 349.

⁴ Kondakov, *Connexions*, p. 141, f. 94.

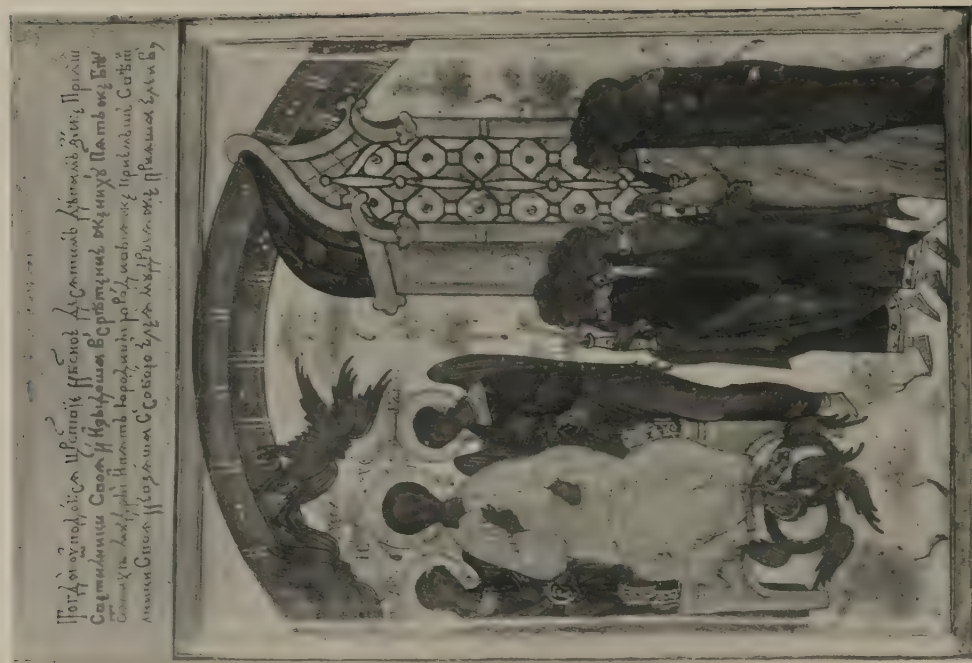


XXXIV. THE ANNUNCIATION OF THE PASSION

XVI cent.



XXXV. 1. THE PHARISEE AND PUBLICAN
XVI cent.



XXXV. 2. THE TEN VIRGINS
XVII cent.

and caught hold of her. So iconography invented a second Annunciation, announcing evil tidings: Our Lady asks the Archangel why he wounds her by reminding her of Simeon's prophesy, 'a sword shall pierce thine own heart' [*sic*], and the Angel replies, 'It behoves the Son of Man to suffer much and to be crucified and to rise again the third day'.

Upon the *Assembly of the Theotokos* were modelled the *Assembly of the Archangels Gabriel and Michael*, the *Assembly of the Heavenly or Bodiless Powers* (Σύναξις τῶν Ἀσωμάτων, i.e. the Angels), even an *Assembly of All Saints* or *All Saints Sunday*.

At first, of course, these icons were meant for churches, especially in monasteries, with the idea of educating people and adorning porches and corridors, piers in churches, refectories, and finally they came to be put upon the lectern to receive reverence on the festivals of All Saints. An important fact is that these icons with many figures began to be multiplied even for devotional purposes, at first for icon shrines (*kiot*, *vide* p. 33, n. 1) and then, as the taste for these detailed¹ icons spread, they were produced for the regular market, because it was cheaper to buy one icon than many, and there was always the fear of incurring the disfavour of one saint by giving greater honour to others.

We might have expected the Gospel parables, with their edifying contents, to find their way into the cycle of didactic subjects, but neither the Greeks nor the Russians had much room either for wall-paintings of them or for icons whether in the churches or in private use. The Greek monasteries did have painted on the walls of refectories and corridors such subjects as the *Spiritual Ladder*, the *Pharisee and Publican* (Pl. XXXV. 1), *The Ten Virgins* (Pl. XXXV. 2), the *Good Samaritan*, *Dives and Lazarus*, and these were ordered by Russians for icons and *kiots*, likewise the story of the *Lame Man*; they took either Greek or Russian compositions which had been made to go into series of festivals, for the parable of the Fig Tree was read upon Easter Monday, that of the Ten Virgins on Easter Tuesday, that of the Publican gave its name to the Sunday before Septuagesima. There is just one fine icon of a parable in the Russian Museum, *Publican and Pharisee*,² an example of Nóvgorod work in the sixteenth century, remarkable for the expression of the men's faces and attitudes. Other parables were generally painted merely on the frames of big icons and offer little interest either for their composition or execution.

¹ So I translate *mélochmy*; the word means 'shallow, petty, niggling'.

² Pl. XXXV. 1. Heading: 'The Gospel Parable of the Publican and Pharisee':

figures labelled 'Publican': 'Pharisee'. Pl. XXXV. 2. Heading from Matt. xxv. 1-4: 'Then shall be likened . . . took oil in'. IC XC. 'Angels of the Lord'. 'Cherubim'.

Such a one is the seventeenth-century *Ten Virgins* : in it Our Lord appears in the form ' Emmanuel upon the Cherubim '.

A very high degree of elaboration was reached by the quadruple icons (rather to be called sets of four) made to adorn four-square piers in churches and continuing the early use of pictures to edify the illiterate. The Russian Museum has three icons of such a set : *The Vision of S. Eulogius*, *The Spiritual Ladder of S. John Climacus*, and the *Story of the Lame Man* ; excellent Nóvgorod work of the sixteenth century.¹ *The Vision of Eulogius* exhibits an edifying picture of Angels in a monastery court distributing to the poor, gold, silver, and holy bread out of baskets, a symbol of monastic care for the poor, but the scene has been divided into groups and given a second dogmatic meaning by the introduction of two Holy Bishops bending in adoration before a chalice upon an altar.

In the fifteenth century the iconostases began to get more crowded : first there were the complex fixed icons ; surrounding the great icon of the saint to whom a church was dedicated would be the incidents of his life, the Acathist scenes round icons of Our Lady, or else the Festival icons of the events in her life, and similar Festivals round icons of Our Lord. There was the regular tier of Great Festivals, and the *Deesis* tier. Now were added the edifying icons at the very bottom and also upon the side doors in the screen.

The north door of the screen in SS. Peter and Paul at Nóvgorod (early sixteenth century) gives a very interesting example of a didactic scheme (Pl. VI. 2, *vide* p. 33). Above, upon a magnificent throne within a circle, Our Lady sits in prayer, her hands raised to her breast and the palms turned forwards : on each side an Angel bows towards her. All about leaves and shoots of plants spring upwards ; they make the circle into Paradise with the Queen of Heaven, like a ' garden enclosed ' : this idea comes from the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, who stands outside to the left. Below in the same garden is the scene called *Abraham's Bosom*, the three Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with the souls of the righteous, and before them the Penitent Thief who has just entered Paradise with his cross. A Seraph is guarding the gate. At the bottom is a mountainous desert and the buildings of a monastery. Four monks have come out of it and are looking with horror at a skeleton found within a stone coffin : this is the *Vision of S. Sisoës* or Sisynnus, described in the long inscription.

Finally it was at the end of the fifteenth century that fixed form

¹ Grabar'-Muratov, pp. 27, 293, 292 ; Halle, Nos. 34, 39, 42 ; Likhachëv, *Mat. CXLVIII-CL. 260-2.*

was given to the composition of *Our Lady's Protection* (*Pokrón*). This was originally an illustration of the festival of the 1st of October,¹ instituted to keep in mind an ancient hallowed legend, but now had become an allegorical representation of Our Lady's intercession for men before God. The word *Pokrón* means 'covering', and is used alike for Our Lady's intercession or protection, and for her covering or cloak, for which the customary word is *mafori* (Gr. μαφόριον for ὁμοφόριον), a cloak rather than a veil, falling upon the head and shoulders and draping the whole figure. In all the Grecian East it was the usual garment for married women and widows. This name *Pokrón* is used in the Russian Church for a festival quite unknown to the Greek and Oriental churches.² S. Andrew the Fool for Christ's sake (*Yuródivy*), a Scythian slave in the reign of Leo the Philosopher (A. D. 886), saw Our Lady enter the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, or in later versions that of Blachernae in Constantinople, with SS. John the Baptist and John the Divine and a great train of Apostles, Prophets, and Saints: when she prayed, Our Lord appeared in person: finally she held up her veil over all present as a symbol of her intercession for the whole human race. Andrew was accompanied by Epiphanius, afterwards the Patriarch Polyeuctus, and the miraculous sight was vouchsafed to him as well. Now this vision, which took form in the ninth century, is a legendary reflection of something which really happened. Every Friday evening in the Blachernae church a curtain was mysteriously raised from before a great figure of Our Lady, probably in the apse, and remained up until Saturday evening. This regular miracle was generally treated with a certain pious reticence, but was more or less known in Constantinople during the tenth to twelfth centuries. Du Cange in his *Constantinopolis Christiana* quotes a medieval poem describing it; it is called the 'customary miracle' (τὸ σὺνηθες θαῦμα) by Anna Comnena, who uses it to establish the precise day that her husband the Emperor Alexis set out on an expedition after paying his devotions at Blachernae, and it is mentioned by several travellers. It may be not without influence on the development of the legend that the chapel in which Andrew saw his vision was that in which Our Lady's seamless cloak was deposited by Leo the Great.

In the Greek Church we know of no celebration of this vision, but it seems as if one of the early Greek bishops in Russia, perhaps

¹ See Golubinski, *Hist. R. Ch.*¹ I. ii, p. 400; Abp. Sergius, *On the Pokrov Festival*, assigned it to the church of Súzda!; Kondakov, reviewing Likhachëv's *Materials*, in *Journ. Min. Publ. Instr.*, 1907;

Iconogr. B. V. M. ii (1915), pp. 55 sqq.

² Macarius of Antioch was interested in it and the icon is described fully, much to the discomfiture of the translator: i, p. 315.

coming from Blachernae, saw its possibilities and instituted a festival on the 1st of October. This day belonged to S. Romanus the Hymn-writer, a deacon of the Blachernae church, and he had to be brought in. The festival occurs in a calendar of the thirteenth century, and the first church named after it was built in Nóvgorod in 1305: most churches of this dedication belong to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In representing the *Pokróv* there was hesitation between showing the curtain supported by Angels, on the whole the older type, really giving the Friday miracle, and a closer adherence to the text of the legend with Our Lady herself holding up her cloak. To the first class belongs the very earliest picture of the subject, a panel of damascened bronze in the doors of Súzdaľ Cathedral, set up by Prince Michael Yaroslávich (*d.* 1248), showing very clearly the curtain rolled up above Our Lady and the Angels with her;¹ an icon in the Ostroukhov Collection, belonging to the end of the fifteenth century,² shows the same idea developed so as generally to anticipate its full expression in the early sixteenth century in the splendid icon in the Russian Museum.³ We have, as it were, a section through a great five-domed church taken upon the line of the raised step (*solea*) which runs across just in front of the apse: only the roof and domes are viewed as from the outside, while the interior is divided into three or five aisles. Above is the figure of Our Lord, as it were giving the blessing from the half-dome of the apse. Below him Our Lady stands upon a cloud and raises her hands in prayer. On each side the quires and orders of Angels, Holy Bishops, Saints, and Confessors are ranged in the galleries of the church behind a parapet or railings. Finally, below, we have S. Andrew and Epiphanius with sundry other figures. The cloak appears in the oldest painted icon of the subject, that in the church of S. Nicholas Kochány at Nóvgorod, an icon dated 1391 but probably not earlier than the end of the next century.⁴ This version found favour with the Moscow school of the sixteenth century, but later still the composition was remodelled so that the perfect symmetry is given up and the scene is viewed from the side. It is certain that the appearance in Western iconography of Our Lady in the attitude of protecting worshippers by covering them with her mantle is ultimately due to the East.

¹ Tolstoy and Kondakov, *R. Ant.* vi, pp. 65-72, f. 103.

² Réau, *Pl.* 22, puts it down as fourteenth century, perhaps on account of the lettering. S. Romanus does not yet appear. Others in Likhachëv, *Materials*, CXXXIII-CXXXV. 235-7, 240.

³ *Pl.* XXXVI, R. M. No. 2105: nearly four feet high. Heading: 'Pokrov of the most Pure Theotokos': for the other inscriptions, see text p. 118.

⁴ Another Halle, 32 = Likhachëv, CXXXVI. 241, put down as c. 1500 but probably later.



XXXVI. OUR LADY'S PROTECTION (POKROV)

Novgorod School. XVI cent.

The icon in the Russian Museum is a most exceptional example of icon-painting both in style (it may be by the hand of Dionysius himself, see *infra*, p. 123) and as giving many characteristic details of Russian invention that leaves the Greek models far behind. Of course, in a sense, the Russians are a hundred years behind and their creative power moves within closely defined limits, but in this icon we have a work equal in power to the paintings of the Venetian and Paduan masters of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and if we put them side by side we find many analogies. First we find a definite indication of the place where the miracle is happening. Above the great church can be seen the massive porphyry column with the equestrian statue of Justinian which once stood near S. Sophia: to remove all doubt it is labelled 'Tsar Ustin' and the view is not unlike a fourteenth-century sketch still preserved.¹ It is true that the scene of the vision was in the church of Blachernae, but there is nothing very surprising in its having been transferred to the Great Church. Again, the view of the church is not at all like the real S. Sophia either outside or still less within. But we have curious evidence that this was not the fault of the Russian icon-painters, who did their best to get real views of the Great Church.

S. Cyril, founder of the famous monastery of the White Lake (Bêlo-ózero) in north Russia, definitely asked a pilgrim named Epiphanius to tell him how S. Sophia in Tsargrad should be represented, and we have a very full reply made in 1415. Epiphanius applied to Theophanes, a famous Greek painter. Theophanes was, according to Epiphanius, not only a skilled practitioner who had frescoed the walls of more than forty churches from Constantinople to Kaffa, and as far as Nóvgorod the Great and Nízhni Nóvgorod, and had decorated three churches and a palace at Moscow, but a famous *izograf*, that is to say, a real creative painter who did not merely use other men's designs. So this was the man to whom Epiphanius applied for a view of S. Sophia, a church of which they said in Russia that it was so vast that a stranger entering without a guide would never find his way out, so many were the columns, passages, chapels, chambers, and corridors. Theophanes replied that one drawing could not show S. Sophia, but he consented to draw some part of S. Sophia and at once executed a rough sketch from which afterwards a finished copy was made.²

In the icon before us S. Sophia is represented, but it is S. Sophia at Nóvgorod, as may be seen from the gablets upon its roof: yet the

¹ Dalton, *Byz. Art*, p. 124.

¹⁵, published by the Orthodox Palestine

² *Palestínski Sbórník* (Miscellany), No. Society.

above story proves that the saints of the Russian Church and the icon-painters themselves took trouble to make their icons like, and had no idea of any transcendental art of painting which knew and rendered nothing real : such an art only exists in the imaginations of our aesthetes. But of course our icon-painters were very poor in exact and historical knowledge and they failed to distinguish between Blachernae and S. Sophia at Constantinople.

So in this icon of the *Pokróv*, as in others, they painted Our Lord in the highest place, next the curtain supported by 'Michael' and 'Gabriel': then Our Lady praying just where the apse comes, above the Royal Doors : she is flanked by the 'Orders of Martyrs, Holy Bishops, Prophets, Apostles, Confessors, and women Saints': this tier all stands upon clouds, though the side groups are really in the galleries of the church. Below, upon firm ground, Romanus the Hymn-writer, vested as a deacon, stands upon an ambo before the Royal Doors : in his hand is a scroll which should bear the words 'The Virgin this day bears Him that is above being'.¹ The ambo is of just the same round shape as the carved one from Nóvgorod now in the Historical Museum at Moscow.² Under the arches to his right is the 'Order of Choristers' (*kryloshan* for *kliroshan*, from *κλήρος*, *vide supra*, p. 33, n. 6), to his left that of 'Priests', next the 'Emperor Leo the Wise' and the 'Patriarch Tarasius' with an acolyte to bear his staff : beyond Leo is the 'Empress Theophano' and two attendants : beyond Tarasius 'S. Andrew the Fool' and 'Epiphanius', and above an account of his vision.

The icon is full of brilliant artistic merits both in drawing and style, though it is true that the figures are disproportionately tall (eleven heads). Special beauty is given to the icon by the bright and gay colours, almost such as we find in water-colours, standing out against a few patches of rich dark tones. The bright rich red (*bakán*) is the special note and the subtle shades of green (*prázelen*): but the singular elegance of the whole is due to grafting the refined delicacy of the new Italian school upon the vigorous but harsh Byzantine stock. This blending of two elements, one essentially painting, the other sculpture, will be set forth in the next chapter.

¹ τὸν ὑπερούσιον. I cannot read the words, but they are assigned to Romanus in the Greek Guide, being the beginning of the Kontakion for Christmas Day written by

him.

² Tolstoy and Kondakov, *R. Ant.* vi, p. 157, f. 197.

VII

THE EARLY XVITH CENTURY. NOVGOROD AND PSKOV

THE impression made upon the whole of Europe by the Italian Renaissance in the sixteenth century survives to the present day in the French term for it, *le grand Art*. This expression fits the whole new system which made the State concern itself with art, in the shape of magnificent buildings, works of sculpture, wall-paintings in churches and palaces, and structures whose end was sheer decoration and pomp. But this great or at any rate ambitious art necessarily broke down in central Europe which was not ready to accept or develop it. The taste for vast wall-paintings reached even Russia, but in the shape of a confused mass of iconographic subjects mixed with compositions transferred from the illuminated manuscripts to the wall. Still the general movement in art, like a kind of fresh breeze, swept over eastern Europe and urged it on to the development of a new style of its own. Of course this new style obeyed the laws of icon-painting and preferred to keep mostly to the fifteenth-century models, as being still entirely dedicated to the service of religion, while the sixteenth century introduced more subjects from the ancient world or decorative compositions. In general, icon-painters preferred the dignified Mantegna to the Milanese school: thus the old connexions of Greek icon-painting with Venice and Padua were supplemented.

The general tendency was towards the development of tall and majestic figures for Our Lord, the Apostles, and Prophets, towards the restoration of the ancient restfulness, and towards an exaggeration of the tallness and slenderness of bodily proportions. The drawing of drapery kept to the traditional contours but gave them no plastic modelling: a new technique ruled the parallel lines of the folds very lightly. It is the draughtsmen among the icon-workers who now come to the front (the technical word is *známenshchik*, from *známenit'*, to make an original drawing as opposed to tracing); and this again means a change in the composition and placing of the figures: but the drawing is not done from nature and therefore it is subject to the rule of the general type and remains characteristically iconic: and the fundamental iconic type becomes that of conventional piety,

a tall, bony, ascetic figure. The new style of drawing is more correct and better managed, but it softens away the characteristic points of the different types and loses lively and effective touches. The general impression of deadness is increased by the many long vertical lines which run down the figures: the interruption in the folds made by the projection of the knees was a regular feature in Byzantine work, but now it almost disappears; the only transverse folds are at the shoulder in the himation and above the instep in the chiton.

The colours likewise suffered a considerable change: the dark tones largely give way to light; this is evidently under the influence of wall-painting. The ochre-coat is generally pale, the faces are yellowish, with high lights in white, often no *sankir* is used for the under-coat, and the shadows are hardly put in at all or only a little green where they should be deepest. The complementary or two-coloured reflexes go right out of use with their employment of various shades of *prázelen*¹. But the most important part about the colouring, as compared with that of the older schools, is the bright and patchy colouring of the clothes and the elaborate detail which is put into them. This practice appears in the Nóvgorod school of the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries, again under the influence of the Italo-Cretan schools which in their turn were indebted for it to the Venetian painters: Jacobello del Fiore, Stefano da Zevio of Verona, Michele Lambertini, Michele Giambono, Catarino, Lorenzo Veneziano, &c.¹ Again, the Venetians right down to Crivelli and Jacopo Bellini had borrowed this bright and varied colour and elaboration of the costumes from the Flemings.

The bright colours are chosen with intent; red ochre, ultramarine, turquoise, different pinks, and suchlike; over everything, upon flower patterns, edgings, and high lights, is woven as it were a golden spider's web, executed with very fine brushes in liquid gold, and in the best icons the Venetian manner is followed to perfection. The icon-painters delight especially in showing their skill in decorating the clothes of princes and nobles, in white chasubles with embroidered orphreys upon the shoulders, and in all kinds of brilliant ornamental patterns. This fashion goes back to the theatrical performances and tournaments at the courts of Ferrara and Mantua and the displays at Florence and Venice. Before treating the occurrence of these features in important examples, our description of the new colouring must be completed by some account of a new way of applying the colours called the 'fused' manner. (*Plav*', from *plávit*', to melt or float.) The 'fused' manner appears as early as the fourteenth

¹ Testi, *Storia della Pittura Veneziana*, i, ff. on pp. 401, 405, 407, 409, 411, 423, &c.

century, but only in rare cases : it becomes the regular thing towards the end of the fifteenth. Modern icon-painters reckon it a rarity in old work, and in modern times it is not common, being only practised by the most skilful craftsmen. It consists in bringing to such a perfection the technique of applying the coats of paint that the broad surfaces and even the small touches of high light (*ozhivki* and *dvizhki*), and still more the areas of shadow, are, as it were, fused with each other, and the work when finished arrives at an enamelled surface like that which gives special elegance to the finish of certain masters of oil technique. Whether the 'fused' manner was meant as an imitation of this, we do not know, but we notice a tendency in this direction during the fifteenth century. We have had occasion to point out a special manner of painting Our Lord's himation and Our Lady's cloak : the dark red or dark purple stuff shows no lights upon its folds, as if the painter made it his main object to paint a rich patch of one single tone, and feared lest putting in high lights should spoil the effect of his colour. Meanwhile the rest of the icon and the other figures in it have their high lights put in after the ordinary Greek manner. We see the same practice applied in particular places in the Italo-Cretan icons (and their imitations such as Pl. XX), which in their skilful handling are such a contrast to the ordinary icons with their patchy high lights in the Greek manner. Naturally when this fused manner is transferred from draperies to faces the weakening of the high lights takes away their former bony dryness and asceticism, that is, lessens their special character. But by the sixteenth century icon-painting was more occupied with producing a pleasant effect, was even aiming at prettiness, and cared less about the old emphasis upon character : so whole schools of craftsmen finished their course of instruction by acquiring the fused manner. The Greek way with exaggerated high lights was a sculpturesque way of doing things, but this was more in the way of painting and, taking it all together, probably required for execution more skill and exactness and so more time. The Greeks had a special term, *Glycasmós*, for the fused surface ; Dionysius of Fourná¹ tells us how to prepare the colour by taking two parts of flesh colour and one or less of ground colour, and then how to do flesh :

' When you have laid on the ground colour and outlined the face or whatever it may be, first put in the flesh with *glycasmós* as described, making it very thin at the edges so that it is hardly distinguishable from the ground colour : then put flesh colour

¹ Ed. Papadopoulo-Kerameus, p. 21, describe a particular blend of pigments than §§ 20, 21. The word seems to me rather to a manner of laying them on. E. H. M.

upon the parts in relief and thin it off like the *glycamos* very gradually and mark with the flesh colour all the wrinkles of old men, but only the orbits of the eyes in young. Add white to the flesh colour and lay it on the parts which you wish to make lighter in tone, but mind you lay it on very very thin. . . . So is done the flesh colour of Panselinos.'

Rovinski declares that in the Nóvgorod school and the first Stróganov school (which we call the early Moscow school) big icons have the faces painted in the fused style, in *sankir* alone, almost without shadows or high lights. This is quite correct, and explains why modern icon-painters specially admire the fused style in old icons and always add the note, 'the flesh colour was painted in smoke (*dýmom*)'. The fact is that the basic *sankir*, as has been said above, has a dark brown colour, and when diluted ochre is laid upon it very lightly and thinly, along the edges there is an undefined misty or smoky look which (perhaps through having heard the Italian painters' expression *sfumato*) they have compared to 'painting in smoke'. It must be remarked that, even when the face of the chief figure in an icon is painted in the fused manner, those of the subsidiary figures may have surfaces and patches of high light and yet be done by the hands of the same master or his pupils: in work on a small scale the Greek technique with high lights was usually retained so as to preserve lively relief.

Altogether during this period there was a definite influence exercised by Western art upon the icon-painting of the Eastern or Greek world, and through it upon that of Russia. But now the models did not only come from Athos: the stream of influence ran much more strongly through the Italo-Cretan school and also by Moldavia and the Bukovina into Galicia and Volhynia. Illustrated MSS. from Serbia (in the Public Library at Petersburg), Galicia (Rumyantsev Museum at Moscow), Pskov, and Nóvgorod (the libraries of the Holy Synod and the Patriarchal Sacristy at Moscow) allow us to follow the transmission of iconographic subjects and ways of doing things right across to Nóvgorod and then, with the transfer of the icon-painters' workshops, from Nóvgorod to Moscow. At the end of the fifteenth century, with the rise at Padua of a great artistic studio under the famous Squarcione, teacher of the great Mantegna, but teacher also of several pupils from Dalmatia, among them Gregorio Schiavone from Scardona whose real name was Kulinović, we have a definite establishment of an exchange of iconographic compositions between East and West.¹ Of course what specially attracted the Eastern icon-painters was the decorative painting of Schiavone and

¹ E. Müntz, 'La Propagande de la *Arts*, 3^e sér., viii. 274; ix. 19. Renaissance en Orient', *Gazette des Beaux*

Crivelli, which they could bring within the bounds of their ancient style, making of this decorative side a kind of naturalism.

We know further that Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary (*d.* 1490), employed at his court the best miniaturists of Florence and other parts of Italy to the number of thirty, and that when his rich library was captured by the Turks (1526) it was scattered with all its artistic treasures over the whole of eastern Europe. Only so can we account for finding in the Peresopnitsa Gospels a copy of Italian models.¹ In the sixteenth century Moldavia had its guilds of wandering icon-painters who moved from place to place, painting the walls of churches, executing icons, compiling painters' guides with descriptions and outline models. Painters from Venice were invited to the court of the Hospodar of Moldavia in 1560.

The creative leader of Nóvgorod icon-painting at the beginning of the sixteenth century, according to recent writers, was 'the icon-painter Dionysius and his lads' (*ikónnik Dionísi so chády*) but as a matter of fact most of his work was done at Moscow. It is true that his first known work was for S. Paphnutius (*d.* 1479) at his monastery of Borovsk about sixty miles south-west of Moscow. His colleague was the well-known Metrophanes, and the life of S. Paphnutius calls him 'a most famous icon-painter better than all': but this is no reason for supposing that he must have belonged to the Nóvgorod school rather than to that of Súzdal'. In 1482 he was invited to Moscow with his fellows 'Pope Timothy, Yarets and Kon'' to execute the iconostas of the Uspenski Cathedral and he did the work 'most marvellously'. In 1484 Dionysius, with his sons Theodosius and Vladimir, and Paisius the Elder,² 'cunning icon-painters or, it were better said, painters of the live (*zhivopísets* = ζωγράφος) in the land of Russia' worked for a long time in the churches at Volokolamsk (a famous monastery sixty miles west-north-west of Moscow, founded in 1478). According to an inventory dated 1545, there were there eighty-seven icons ascribed to Dionysius, and other icons are entered as by Paisius: these were not signed but ascribed by the personal knowledge of the cataloguers. Our opinion is that the large number of icons put down to Dionysius is a reason for referring him to Suzdal', as a whole band of craftsmen would be required to execute them and this could well come from the Súzdal' district. By one means or another the fame of Dionysius passed from one abbot to another to the far north, and about 1500-2 he was working with his

¹ In the church of the Purification (*Srêtenie*) at Moscow are paintings signed by a Dalmatian icon-painter in 1488.

² *Stárets*, originally an old man and secondarily a monk, hermit, or holy wanderer.

pupils in the monastery of S. Therapon (Ferapont), near the White Lake and the monastery of S. Cyril (350 miles north of Moscow, east of Petersburg). These monasteries, though in the Nóvgorod region, were founded by monks from monasteries in Moscow, and the zeal of Dionysius points to his connexions being with central Great Russia. As long as we have nothing of Dionysius but this Therapon wall-painting (all his other frescoes have either perished or have been unmercifully repainted, and his icons have not been cleaned or investigated), and this has been made accessible by being photographed and published,¹ it must serve as the only basis for an estimate of his skill. We could have judged of his skill in icon-painting either by icons or by paintings in MSS. which now were being executed by icon-painters, but we know of none from his hand, though miniatures by his son Theodosius do survive. The praises of Dionysius as a painter are given not to his fresco-work, but to his masterly skill in drawing, 'in representing to the life'. The work at the Therapon monastery is of course the work of his school, not of the master himself: although it is even in quality and sure of itself, still it suffers from the general exaggeration of proportions, from mechanical execution and superficial character. No doubt it gives us a conscientious application of all the resources in use in painting of its time: polished plaster of admirable quality, airy backgrounds of light indigo, pigments of delicate tone, two-coloured reflexes, brocades with rich patterns, churches and architecture of complicated construction. We can see too that the greater part of the events of the Gospel history, the compositions illustrating the Acatlist of Our Lady (the church was dedicated to her Nativity), and the figures of the saints were painted after the newest fashion, that is to say, that the regular schemes had been already worked out. This is why all the figures are so very 'iconic', and the general effect of the walls as painted is better than that of the separate parts; it gains by the uniform lightness and grace of the figures and the brightness and pleasantness of the colour scheme. Still for all the best innovations introduced by Dionysius he made no break with the old type of Russian painting, he only made it prettier. That is why there is no comparison between the Therapon frescoes and those by Giotto in the church of Madonna della Arena at Padua. The new manner may have utilized the attractive surface of the Italians, but it kept the fundamental scheme with the Byzantine tradition under it untouched, much as the two schools of Súzdal' and Nóvgorod had adopted it, one in a more

¹ V. M. Georgievski, *The Frescoes of the Therapon Monastery*, P. 1911; Grabar'- Muratov, pp. 265-79; cf. Réau, pp. 170-80, Pl. 27-9; Halle, Pl. 37.



XXXVII. S. STEPHEN, FROM POSTS OF ROYAL DOORS

1. Novgorod School. XV cent.

2. Moscow School. Late XVI cent.

elaborate, the other in a more simplified, form. A manner without high lights either in patches or on surfaces, with mere faint lines to indicate the contours of the folds, was fused in character and saved detail work in putting in the lights, but it did not become in its essence painting from the life: far from it, the iconic character became more marked than ever through the superficial treatment of definite features and relief.

Let us take two figures of S. Stephen the Deacon from the posts of Royal Doors,¹ one Nóvgorod work of the end of the fifteenth century, the other of the late sixteenth, evidently owing its elegance to the changes made by Dionysius. We can satisfy ourselves that between them there is no essential difference; the first is the freer and the simpler, the second more of an icon and more studied in its conscious display of fineness in work; simplicity has given way even to an elaborate impossibility; the himation which covers Stephen's whole figure has turned into a kind of structureless cloth held up from the side in some way unexplained.

For this reason we cannot make up our minds to see original works of Dionysius as an icon-painter in the icons recently published from the Ostróukhov collection; the *Descent from the Cross* (Pl. XXXVIII), *The Entombment*,² and *The Six Days*.³ It is true that all three icons belong to the first half of the sixteenth century and to its best productions, but still the first two, which come from the Festival tier of an iconostas, are certainly school productions. The third has more claim to be an original by a master, but its superiority is mainly in its colouring. Still the fact that the first two are only school works makes the real skill with which they, especially the *Descent from the Cross*, are executed of even more importance, and we must take full account of this skill if we wish to understand Russian icon-painting. If what is called expressiveness in figures and faces does prove to belong to mere school productions in icon-painting, and it certainly appears in these icons, it must be due to the schools having been raised to the level of the real artists. The actual composition of both pictures, now adapted as icons, also gives expressiveness and, as they say nowadays, instils a particular mood

¹ Pl. XXXVII. 1, o agios Stefan: 2, o agios Archidiakon Stefan. The companion S. Philip is marked fifteenth century by Grabar'-Muratov, p. 252.

² Muratov, *Peinture*, p. 159, f. 50; Réau, Pl. 35.

³ Grabar'-Muratov illustrates the whole, p. 280, and separate scenes on pp. 29, 280,

283. The central scene is *Emmanuel amid Quires of Angels and Orders of Saints*. Above are the *Resurrection* for Sunday, the *Assembly of Michael* for Monday, the *Assembly of the Baptist* for Tuesday, the *Annunciation* for Wednesday, the *Washing of the Feet* for Thursday, the *Crucifixion* for Friday. The last in *Peinture*, p. 155, f. 49.

(*nastroénie* = *Stimmung*). The actual painting is in the fused manner: in the faces the features are only defined by very delicate contour lines, and only the very slightest high lights applied to the nose and ears; and in the paler clothes the main colouring has first been laid on and then the lines put in; only the dark draperies have the lighted surfaces indicated: the dark browns and dark reds are left as rich unbroken patches with hard edges. Very characteristic are the hills with their 'heels' or shaly steps along the edges of the horizontal ledges, quite in the Nóvgorod manner.

But the new styles at Nóvgorod and probably at Pskov, whatever name we may wish to give to them, were evidently quite different in character and can be recognized not in wall-paintings but in icons. Indeed, from this time on, the iconic manner takes the lead and dominates wall-painting and ochre becomes the commonest colour. If then we confine ourselves to the icons, we may first take the various parts of a great icon of the *Last Judgement*, and the *Life of S. George* in the side scenes of a large icon of the saint. The icons awake admiration by the beauty of their sky-blue grounds, the elegance of the patches of colour, and the brightness of the rich trappings. We have already observed that this brightness and patchiness appeared in Eastern icons in imitation of Western art, which emphasized the decorative element under the influence of decorative processions, triumphs, theatrical representations, and mystery plays.¹ This is the moment when, instead of the simple 'Apostolic' clothes, a chiton and himation, usually light blue and dark mauve, Angels and Arch-angels are vested in magnificent albs and gold dalmatics, and Our Lord Himself is represented in splendid vestments with a tiara upon His head, whence arose in the East the symbolical figure of Christ the Great High Priest. This all worked in with the mystical literature of 'Visions of Paradise', such as are introduced, for instance, into the 'Life of S. Basil the New',² gates of the heavenly Jerusalem of bright crystal, beings like shining stars, youths clothed in fire, the white throne of God and round it youths vested in crimson, the mansions of the saints in various colours, full of flowers, with golden floors, emerald pillars to the halls, everywhere men in garments white as snow or pure as wool, their faces shining like the moon in the darkness of night. All this is apt to fall into absurdities, such as saints with their brows inscribed in letters of lightning, 'Prophet', 'humble in spirit', and sinners with their heads marked in red with the deeds of each 'Thief', 'Murderer', 'Adulterer', 'Sorcerer',

¹ Emlie Mâle, *L'Art religieux à la fin du Moyen Âge en France*, 1908.

² S. G. Vilinski, *The Life of S. Basil the New in Russian Literature*, 1911.



XXXVIII. DESCENT FROM THE CROSS

Novgorod School. XVI cent. Ostroúkhov Collection, Moscow



XXXIX. CRUCIFIXION

Novgorod School. XVI cent.

and the like. This last detail answers to a new taste in icons for inscriptions in tiny letters giving the names of people or groups. The second icon, the *Life of S. George*,¹ is remarkable for setting forth the doings of the chivalrous hero and martyr in the most dramatic way (one might say more simply in a lively way, but such a simple expression would not suit an icon). He is portrayed as a tender youth, almost a boy, so as to make a more effective contrast with the rude barbarians his torturers: these the Nóvgorod painter has plentifully endowed with tall stature, wild faces, and savage gestures, and in them one may see types of the Nóvgorod democracy.

As to the icon of the *Six Days* it is both a splendid example of late fifteenth-century execution and interesting for the refashioning of old compositions and types. The scene of *Washing the Apostles' Feet* is characteristic in the iconographic exaggeration of pose and movement: Our Lord, for instance, is girt with one towel and holds another in His hands: so that He should not suffer the indignity of having to bend down to the Apostles' feet, they are arranged in two rows of six, one on a bench and the other as on the high step in a Russian bath. So Christ can stand to wash S. Peter's feet, and the Apostle also stands up to show his submission to Our Lord's will, and points to his head asking Him to wash it so that he should 'have his part' with Him (John xiii. 8). The other Apostles are conversing in twos and threes, and the customary figure undoing his sandal is repeated. Our Lord's garment is of the colour called Venetian purple, the Apostles also in chitons and himatia of various colours. The old Greek models are coloured in a new fashion, and the arrangement and the types are half Greek, half Italian.

To judge more clearly of the changes in style, let us take two versions of the *Entry into Jerusalem*, one in the Russian Museum round about 1500, the other in the Ostroukhov collection of the middle or even the end of the sixteenth century.² A comparison of these shows most palpably how the master of the following generation has changed the old models and drawing. Very characteristic is the multiplication of mountains with 'heels' which in the hands of the seventeenth century develops into a kind of grove³ of unknown coral growths or 'shrublets' (*kústiki*, as the icon-painters call them). But all the same all the figures are scrupulously retained with their attitudes, movements, and placing.

If again we compare the icon of the *Crucifixion*⁴ in the Russian

¹ Grabar'-Muratov, pp. 254, 256.

² *Ib.*, p. 336, coloured Plate.

³ Cf. side scenes on Pl. LIX.

⁴ Pl. XXXIX. The heading, 'Crucifixion of Our Lord Jesus Christ' is later: also 'Angels of the Lord'.

Museum with the Therapon frescoes, we shall find that the figures of Our Lady and S. Mary Magdalene are painted exactly like figures in the fresco of the *Visitation of S. Elizabeth*. So we might tentatively ascribe the icon to the style of Dionysius. Meanwhile, however, the churches of Nóvgorod keep their icons (most of them of the sixteenth century) in a repainted state and we are not in a position really to see the chief changes in style and particular manners : in this almost every icon has something to teach us. The reason is that a mere craft retains a manner it has acquired, while a really artistic society shows much less obstinacy. For instance, the elegant icon of *S. George* (Pl. XXV), though it belongs to the sixteenth century in date, is quite in the style of the fifteenth. On the contrary the little icon of *S. John* (Pl. XL) *dictating his Gospel* to his pupil 'Prochorus', and suddenly illumined by rays from Heaven, has quite departed from Dionysius. The heavy ascetic figure of the apostle gives us the new convention adopted from Serbian models. Even the son of Dionysius, Theodosius, modified his father's style, as we can see by the miniatures added to the Gospels in the Petersburg Library. But Theodosius really belongs to Moscow.

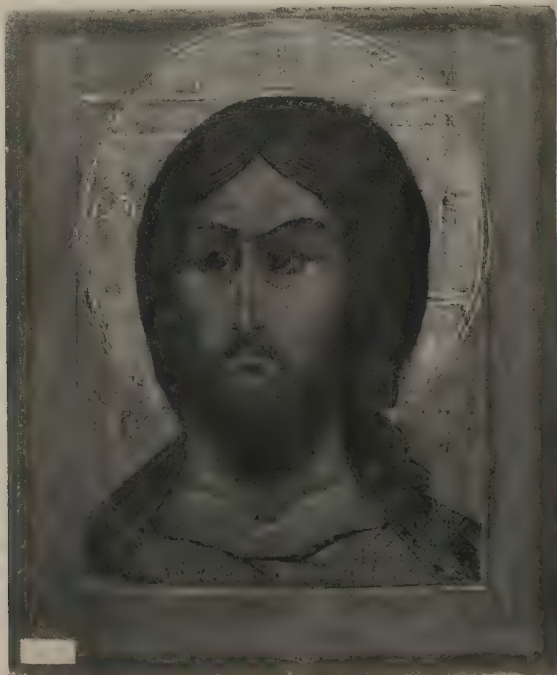
Nóvgorod icon-painting in the first half of the sixteenth century was flourishing exceedingly in spite of the anxious position of the city. One factor in this was the new custom which in churches substituted for the great schemes of frescoes an adornment with icons, beginning with the monumental iconostas of the principal church, and the great icons which covered the piers of the nave and part of the aisle walls, and coming down to the small iconostases of the side-chapels. A new type of icon becomes dominant, great icons of Our Lord, Our Lady, the Saints, and the Festivals, with scenes from their lives and actions. The best example of a church so adorned with precious icons is that of SS. Peter and Paul on S. Sophia's Side at Nóvgorod.¹ Icons of this sort require the development of a monumental style worthily to supply the great central figure, some saint highly esteemed at Nóvgorod, SS. Nicholas of Myra, Theodore Stratelates, Philip the Apostle, Procopius, Barlaam Khutynski, James the Apostle, Andrew the Fool, Cyril of the White Lake, or suchlike ; at the same time the small scenes in compartments set round the main icon gave every opportunity for detailed work on a small scale, and this could be freer and more lively, representing miracles and martyrdoms, and affording scope for dramatic treatment in imitation of Western models. The so-called *fryaz'* or

¹ A good description of this church and its icons by P. Gúsev in *Trans. of the XVth* (Nóvgorod, 1911) *Archaeological Congress*, ii (Moscow, 1916), pp. 138-50, Pls. I-VI.



XL. S. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, FROM A ROYAL DOOR

XVI cent.



XLI. THE HOLY MANDYLION OR NAPKIN OF EDESSA (VERNICLE)

1. Called *Mokraya Brada*, Wet Beard. Novgorod School. XVI cent. 2, 3. Moscow School. XVII cent.

distinctly Frankish style also arose in Nóvgorod, and an investigation of the Nóvgorod churches would throw much light on this special form of icon-painting and its unfamiliar themes.

Of course not all the new forms and themes introduced at Nóvgorod could be satisfactory either in content or in artistic merit, and when the transfer to Moscow came, it meant no doubt a great loss of skill, but also a certain purification. Take, for instance, the series of great icons of *Our Lord's Face*, beginning with the characteristic *Our Saviour of the Burning Eye* (*Yároe Óko*).¹ The first model of this, a Rumanian fifteenth-century original, is now in the Uspenski Sobor at Moscow. Less characteristic is the early seventeenth-century version of *Our Saviour's Picture not made with hands* (*Vernicle*), painted for private use (Pl. XLI. 2, same inscription). Most remarkable of these is the vernicle known as *Our Saviour of the Wet Beard* (Pl. XLI. 1), because of the curious form of His pointed beard. Such an icon is splendidly effective in its place amid a tier of half-length Prophets and Patriarchs, but it produces a strange impression on a small scale in a museum or oratory. This copy, which has been restored, belongs to the sixteenth century.

The iconostas of SS. Peter and Paul at Nóvgorod was restored after a fire in 1548: some of the icons were fitted into it after having survived the fire, but the greater part date from the middle of the sixteenth century, just the time when the Metropolitan Macarius moved the Novgorod workshops to Moscow,² and so it would be interesting to compare them with the icons of the Uspenski Sobor at Moscow dating from various years of the sixteenth century. But the cleaning of its icons has only just begun, one only having been done and that not quite successfully, and in the Moscow church only two big icons have so far been touched and of these photographs are not yet available, so full material for criticism is not accessible.³ However, the subjects and their general treatment have their own share of interest. As a matter of fact not all the icons in the Nóvgorod church have been actually repainted; some have been only covered with thick coats of olive oil which has hardened and darkened so that the colour is hopeless, but though it is difficult to see the drawing, something of its quality may be discerned; indeed, drawing and composition have very great merit and show that Nóvgorod followed

¹ Pl. XLI. 3 is a sixteenth-century copy somewhat restored. Inscr. 'The Lord Almighty'.

² Nóvgorod had been taken by Ivan III in 1478; in 1547, Macarius, formerly Archbishop of Nóvgorod, now Metropolitan

of Moscow, brought icon-painters from Nóvgorod to Moscow, primarily to decorate the cathedral of the Annunciation: in 1570 Nóvgorod was sacked by Ivan the Terrible.

³ The work is now finished but not published. [See *inf.* p. 143.]

the example of the early Súzdal' school, and superseded its first style of drawing with its almost mechanical simplification, by one of greater severity and a correctness worthy of true icons.

It is a satisfaction to be able to point on the spot in Nóvgorod itself to the appearance of icons in a ceremonial, almost a grandiose, style. Such is an icon of the chiefs of the Apostles, SS. *Peter and Paul* (Pl. XLII), with writings in their hands (after the Western model): a special point to note is that both the faces have lost the Greco-Roman type and have become those of citizens of Nóvgorod, except that S. Peter retains the curly hair of the old type. But the general look of these two figures, strictly facing forwards, standing absolutely straight up from head to foot, with their apostolic vesture smoothed out and pleated in many tiny folds and swallow tails, is absolutely iconic. And all the eighteen compartments with scenes from the lives of the two Apostles are in the same conventional iconic style.¹

More lively is an icon of *The Veneration of the Chains of the Holy Apostle Peter* (Pl. XLIII. 1), showing a King, a Bishop, and other holy people adoring a set of fetters behind which is an icon showing S. Peter freed from prison. The background shows a church of fantastic architecture with a *Deesis* in its three front gables and a delightful bell turret above. Another version of *S. Peter freed by the Angel* has likewise eighteen scenes round the edge. Of the large figures in the central picture that of the standing Angel is correct and beautiful, but that of Peter raised to his feet is spoilt by errors of drawing. In the top corner Our Lord is seen in Heaven surrounded

¹ Pl. XLII. 'Apostle Paul' shows a book with the first words of his Epistle to the Romans; 'Peter Apostle' holds a key labelled 'Peter answered and said, "Thou art the Christ"' (Matt. xvi. 16): between them 'The Lord of Sabaoth' enthroned with Emmanuel upon His knee, one of the compositions called *Otechestvo = Paternity*, cf. p. 106. The eighteen scenes in the margin in the regular order, I-V across the top, VI, VIII, X, XII on the dexter, VII, IX, XI, XIII on the sinister side, XIV to XVIII along the bottom (save for VIII, Peter brought to the Governor, and IX, Peter freed from prison, apparently from Acts xii. 4-9) illustrate the story of Paul joining Peter in Rome. I, messengers from Peter tell Paul that the Emperor has condemned him to death; II, Paul sails to Syracuse; III, he con-

secrates Bacchylus bishop at Messina; IV, sails to Puteoli; V, a disciple receives him; VI, Dioscurus, being bald like Paul, is mistaken for him and martyred; VII, Puteoli destroyed: Paul leaves for Baiae; X, Bishop Juvenalius repents before Peter; XI, Paul send Peter a letter to tell of his escape: they meet in Rome; XII, dispute with Jews; XIII, Peter cures a sick man and a blind; XIV, dispute with Simon Magus; XV, Simon Magus has himself carried up to heaven by devils, but is dropped by them when the Apostles begin to pray; XVI, XVII, their martyrdoms and, XVIII, burial as set forth in the *Acta Petri et Pauli*, e. g. ed. R. Lipsius, pp. 178-222, Lipsiae, 1891. The Slavonic legend must have followed the Greek very closely (cf. Gusev, l. c.).



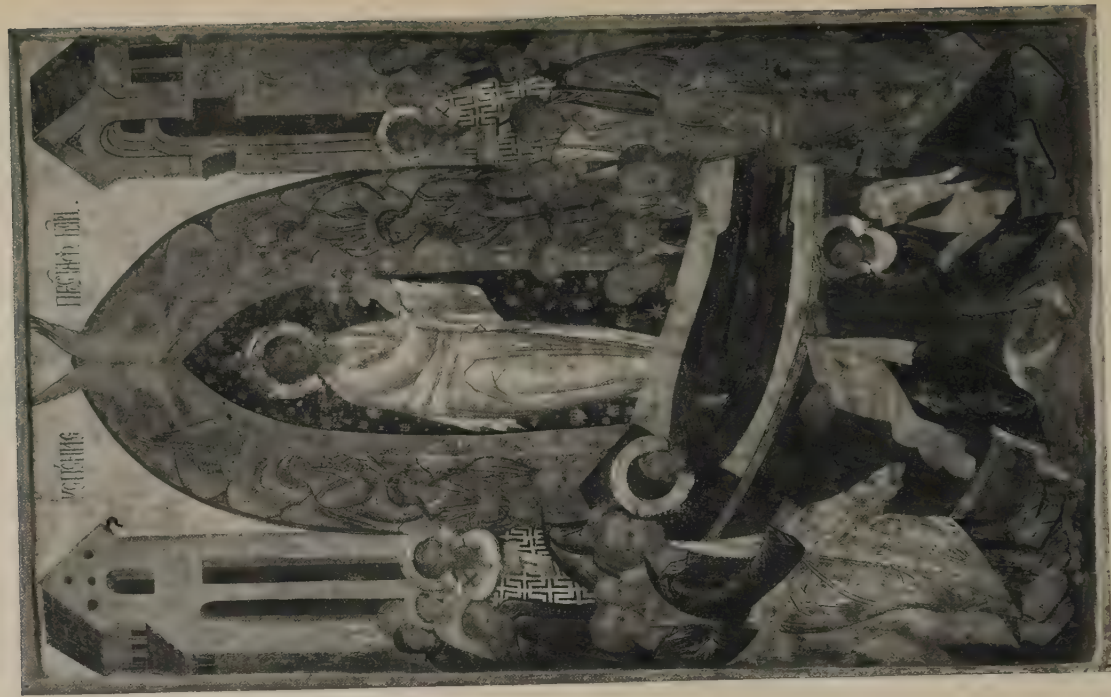
XLII. SS. PETER AND PAUL IN THEIR CHURCH AT NOVGOROD

XVI cent.



XLIII. 1. VENERATION OF S. PETER'S CHAINS

XVI cent.



XLIII. 2. DORMITION OF OUR LADY

SS. Peter and Paul, Novgorod

by the seven candlesticks of the Apocalypse : below are soldiers stretched out and buried in slumber : the hair of one of them is standing on end with terror. Other examples in the same church, which may be mentioned, are the severe icon of *The Dormition of the most Holy Theotokos* (Pl. XLIII. 2), an *Old Testament Trinity*, and the above-mentioned *In thee Rejoiceth*. Other churches of Nóvgorod have also preserved several precious icons with subsidiary scenes from the saints' lives ; there are several of *S. Nicholas of Myra*,¹ *S. James*, *S. Demetrius*, both now in S. Nicholas Kochany ; *Our Lady of Tikhvin*, the *Assembly of Our Lady* and her *Nativity*, in the church called thereafter ; the *Transfiguration*, in the church of that feast ; *S. Parasceve* with her Life, in the Diocesan Museum ; *S. John, Archbishop of Nóvgorod*, with his Life, in S. Blaise (chapel) ; *S. Theodore Stratelates*, the very icon mentioned, as it seems, under the year 1526, in his church which is well known for the fourteenth-century frescoes recently discovered in it :² *S. George* with his Life, *The Dormition of Our Lady*, a Virgin and Child with scenes, and another of *Our Lady with the Sign* (*Známénie*, cf. Pl. LVIII) with no less than forty scenes round it, all in the Cathedral of the Sign ; various examples of the *Devotion of the Men of Novgorod*, a complex icon with compartments, in the monasteries of S. Antony the Roman and Barlaam Khutýnski. All these, if they have survived and are cleaned and restored, will make Nóvgorod some day a perfect museum of Christian antiquities, even if the frescoes that have been or are being uncovered are fated to fade and disappear.

Special mention is due to the very precious church of SS. Boris and Gléb on the Trade Side on the bank of the Volkhov : it was the object of particular favour on the part of the princes of Nóvgorod, and in it is collected a whole series of icons, some from the earliest, and some from the most flourishing period of icon-painting. There is, for instance, in one chapel an icon of *SS. Boris and Gléb*, a brilliant example of late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century work. In the middle the two Saints are portrayed on horseback (like the other mounted saints, such as SS. Theodore Stratelates and Theodore the Tiro) : this was the model for many splendid copies, such as the small icon of *Boris and Gléb* at the Rogozhski cemetery at Moscow. The artist must have made use of copies of Italian originals, so great is the resemblance to Benozzo Gozzoli's fresco in the chapel of the Palazzo Riccardi-Medici at Florence. The Princes' brocade cloaks

¹ An older example in the Ryabushínski Commission, xxxix (1911), pp. 88-102, Pl. I-XVIII.

² *Bulletin (Izvēstiya) of the Archaeological*

and gaiters are lined with fur and embroidered with gold branches and flowers as on Venetian icons of the fifteenth century.

In the private collections of Moscow are several sixteenth-century icons with scenes round the edge : in the Ostroúkhov Collection¹ is one of *S. John the Divine*, showing him on Patmos dictating to Prochorus, all round scenes from his life in the severest iconic style : others are *SS. Cyril of Jerusalem and Cyril of the White Lake*, the *Trinity* with a series of first-rate festivals, the *Assembly of S. Michael*, *S. George*, *Our Lord upon the Vernicle*, a *Panagiarion* (vide p. 81) with *Our Lady of the Sign* (fifteenth century), *S. Elias*, and many others. The Morózovs possessed wonderful icons of *S. Nicetas*, *S. Nicholas*, *SS. Cyril and Athanasius*, the *Trinity*, a remarkable version of the *Last Judgement*, *In thee Rejoiceth*, the *Protection of Our Lady* (*Pokróv*), and *SS. Boris and Gléb* on foot. The Egórov Collection contains a series of 'fixed' Nóvgorod icons, *In thee Rejoiceth*, *The Unsleeping Eye*, and many small icons from Nóvgorod and Pskov and early Moscow copies after them. Ryabushínski possessed almost a complete set of the festivals ; six icons, the *Annunciation*, *Nativity of Our Lord*, *Transfiguration*, *Raising of Lazarus*, *Descent into Hell* (= *Resurrection*), and *Ascension*² which could be referred to the time of Dionysius if not to his workshop : the same wonderful collection contained a large number of the 'First Moscow school' and primitive schools with light blue backgrounds, in which the special attraction lies in the delicate tones chosen with a singular regard both for harmony and for decorative effect. A particularly beautiful icon is one of the *Transfiguration*.³

Pskov began to develop its icon-painting rather later than Nóvgorod, apparently in the fifteenth century : in the late sixteenth it acquires a special decorative tinge, though this is scarcely recognized by the modern icon-painters. In the Pskov churches the icons are almost as impressive as those of Nóvgorod, indeed, owing to the absence of frescoes in every case but that of Our Saviour on the Mirozh, almost more so. The source of Pskov icon-painting is to be sought in Nóvgorod, and it may be supposed that it was not till the end of the fifteenth century that the Pskov schools took a line of their own. But as in the sixteenth century Pskov had the quieter existence, these schools were naturally enabled to develop the common style further. The special point, as far as noticed hitherto, is a multiplication of the mere ornament, for instance dark draperies are relieved or

¹ P. P. Murátov wrote a special illustrated study of this collection under the title *Ancient Russian Icon-painting*, M. 1911.

² Grabar'-Muratov, p. 262 : Halle, 36.

³ These collections are now in the Historical Museum, Moscow.

lightened by running a brush full of liquid gold along the folds, garments are adorned with flower patterns, and buildings or even trees and plants with gold decorations and leaves.

How Pskov loved the ancient art of icons is shown by the preservation of magnificent iconostases, often with all the metal repoussé work complete, with the donor's inscriptions and everything, also 'fixed' and votive icons about the walls, galleries, sanctuaries, and everywhere to a greater extent and in better preservation than at Nóvgorod. Finally the icons at Pskov are in an incomparably better state: often they have not been repainted at all, and not infrequently icons may be seen with the original coat of olive oil varnish. Specially rich in icons are the following churches: Paromenskaya, dedicated to the Dormition of Our Lady, with a fixed icon of *SS. Joachim and Anne, Our Lady's Umilenie*, after the manner of Rublëv, a *Crucifixion*, and a *Dormition of Our Lady*; the church was built in 1444 and restored in 1521. Next to it came the church of Elijah's Ascension (with a great store of icons from other churches and chapels), S. Parasceve with most remarkable 'fixed' icons in the chapels, and others.

It is hardly possible to make a satisfactory comparison between Pskov and Nóvgorod until we get proper photographs of the icons in the churches and in private collections such as Batov's: but one is tempted to compare them on general lines with Florence and Siena in the different directions that they took. Nóvgorod, like Florence, was specially inclined to wall-painting, whereas Pskov preferred icons, and nearly all its artistic life expressed itself in icons, either originals or copies.

This would lead to Pskov being decidedly more ready to submit to the influence of Italo-Cretan or even purely Italian models and accept their manner. In one of the churches of Pskov, in the apse, there hangs so exact a copy of a Venetian *Nativity*, of which an example is in the Russian Museum, that but for the Slavonic inscription one would have to class it as Greek. But this could not really be so, because an icon-painter in making a copy always does it in his own proper manner, and does not set out to come quite close to the original as does an ordinary copyist. Not only this, but the Pskov icon-painter feels himself freer in the matter of composition and allows himself more licence: Pskov did not begin by being so subject to the Greeks and so was more ready to accept the Western influence. Pskov icon-painters were fond, as we have said, of *inokóp'*, livening up colour with gold hatching: they liked bright startling colours and the Frankish style (*fryaz'*), or rather a free and careless style of drawing for the sake of its lively effect, what we should call

dramatic expressiveness.¹ In the Pskov school the votive icon was the chief favourite, for it dated from the time when the school was young: together with that of Nóvgorod it was the parent of the schools of Moscow, Tver', and the Rostov and Yaroslavl' region.

Such are all the guesses that we can venture to put forward, for exact data are not within our reach. In questions such as those touching the independence of schools, and the special criteria by which they may be distinguished, it is not safe to be guided even by icons remaining in the churches. How can we be certain that the iconostas of a Pskov church was not entrusted to a Nóvgorod studio? Examining the different icons in the churches of Pskov, in the Russian Museum, and in private collections, to look for special criteria seems to us quite useless: any special features are infinitely likely to have been transferred to the Moscow schools, where we should find them again.

Much the same is true of the whole class of so-called *Stróganov styles*, which take their rise somewhere in the middle of the sixteenth century, and those assigned to Ustyúg and Vólogda. We know the lively commercial activity of Vologda, Ustyug, and in general the north of Russia up towards the White Sea: likewise the enormous part played in these northern regions by the monasteries and smaller religious houses or cells, their economic and educative importance. Still, favourable material conditions do not at once establish the existence of art, or even of artistic handicraft, and the orders given by the Stróganovs, many as they may have been and regular, may quite well have gone to Nóvgorod and Pskov, and there is no reason to put down the early Stróganov icons to an independent school.²

¹ Icons published as from Pskov: *Rogozhski Album* (vide p. 66, n. 3), Pls. 24, 25, 26, 31; *Atlas of the Icon Exhibition* (1913), Nos. 63, 66, 72.

² In the middle of the fifteenth century we find a Stróganov claiming lands possessed by the men of Nóvgorod in north Russia: a century later the family had immensely increased in wealth, and systematically undertook to exploit the country of the Kama and the northern Urals, with its riches of fish, salt, and minerals, and finally they were responsible for the conquest of Siberia. They were no doubt the richest

Russian subjects, and being good churchmen took pleasure in icons. We have tales of their having supported their own icon-painters, and a few icons bearing the names of the family have survived (e.g. Pl. LIV. 1 and its back, p. 29), mostly in a very detailed elaborate style. Hence, early investigators have sought to form a whole class of Stróganov icons divided into different styles. Our author is sceptical at any rate about the earlier styles. The great Stróganov collection of works of art is safe in the Hermitage (cf. p. 164).

VIII

THE XVITH CENTURY. MOSCOW

AT Moscow icon-painting arose under what ought to have been the best conditions and auspices. To begin with, it derived from the Súzdal' school, which for the early period stood highest in artistic skill, traditions, and aims. Later on, when icon-painting in Russia began really to flourish, Moscow benefited by the best men and the best models from the developed schools of Nóvgorod and Pskov. Finally, in the middle of the sixteenth century, it was entrusted with immense tasks of decorating churches and monasteries with icons, and enjoyed the direct protection of the Moscow Tsars, of all the great people of the realm, the commercial class, and even the country folk. Everywhere icons were in favour and the art encouraged with commissions, searches for ancient models by the best masters, and general interest in its welfare.

The historical process by which the whole Russian land was being grouped round Moscow had become evident in the fourteenth century, proceeded apace in the fifteenth, and for Great Russia was consummated in the sixteenth. This political centralization brought with it a centralization of social and religious life, learning, and art. In accordance with this tendency, Macarius, at first Archbishop of Nóvgorod and then Metropolitan of Moscow, transferred to Moscow the icon-shops of Pskov and Nóvgorod together with the trained book-scribes. One side of an official interest in correcting service books and church ordinances showed itself in a search for Greek books and Greek models for icons, and a general attempt to improve the standard of icon-painting.¹

Moscow rose to greatness because of its position as a commercial centre at the point where the route from the East by the Volga and the Súzdal' district to the West, Galicia and Volhynia, crossed the old Varyag route from the Baltic to the Black Sea. As the centre round which the Russian land was gathering it demanded the attention of the Government. Its first bishops in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Peter (1308), Theognostus (1327), Alexis

¹ A short narrative of the facts touching icon-painting in Moscow, drawn from the Chronicles, is given by V. Shchépkin in his article on Moscow icon-painting in the composite publication *Moscow*.

(1353), and Photius (1408), were either icon-painters themselves or brought others with them and filled the Moscow churches with holy things. But in 1392 Tokhtamysh the Tartar burnt Moscow and all its churches, and a great rebuilding began in 1396. The Greek Theophanes worked at the wall-paintings : he astonished the Russians by working from memory without anything to copy. He did the Archangel Cathedral, and worked with Andrew Rublëv in 1405 in the cathedral of the Annunciation, and so for twenty years. Still, regular plans for building a permanent and splendid Kremlin with cathedrals and palaces were only taken in hand in the second half of the fifteenth century and reached some completion by the end : the Uspenski Sobor was built in 1479, in 1485 that of the Annunciation was rebuilt, in 1483 the great Chûdov monastery,¹ in 1491 the cathedral of Our Saviour's New Monastery (Novospasski), in 1505 the Archangel Cathedral, and so on. Nevertheless all the interior decoration of these churches had either decayed by the middle of the sixteenth century or was by then thought unworthy ; accordingly wall-paintings and icons were all renewed, except a few icons of ancient veneration, either left in place or preserved in apses or chapels against the walls. The attention paid by the State to the principal churches and their decoration led as early as 1547 to the establishment of schools for icon-painters, of course in the practical form of workshops, with salaried craftsmen who also executed commissions given by the Tsar. To these were added the *Icon-chambers* (*Ikónnyya Paláty*, much like what the Italians call *l'Opera del Duomo*) in which models were collected and icons painted for the cathedrals and oratories ; afterwards came the special *Craftsmen's Chamber*, working solely for those 'above', i. e. the Tsar's family ; and finally a special department attached to the Armoury (*Oruzhéynaya Paláta*) and looking after the Moscow cathedrals. Detailed for this work were not only icon-painters, but also clerks and business men from the department. Of course these might be enthusiasts for icons, or they might be mere officials quite uninterested in the work and taking up a merely formal attitude in giving commissions for icons or passing them on completion. This change of system changed the outlook of the painters themselves ; it was no use expecting any great artistic upward movement, any new inventions or special advances : commissions were executed to meet the ordinary taste and nothing more, by aiming at mere attractiveness and the easy approval of mere detailed work. The way to rise to the status of salaried icon-painter to the Tsar was no doubt made easier

¹ Founded by S. Alexis in 1365 in honour of the miracle (*chûdo*) of S. Michael at Chonae (Colossae), in striking the earth with his spear and making a spring flow.

by the repute gained through work for the Stróganovs and suchlike, but in general ancient Russia reckoned only wall-painting as an art, and put down the painting of icons as a mere craft, just because they had always been produced to be put in ordinary houses and cottages, and were sold in shops and by pedlars along with various stuff for the household. An exception was made for shops attached to monasteries in which monks and lay brethren worked, and in general for artists belonging to the clerical caste, clerks, deacons, and even priests.

The measures taken by the Tsars and the increase in the number of painters¹ ought to have brought to light a greater number of talented men devoting their lives to the work, and accordingly creative power ought to have increased. As a matter of fact in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we do get a considerable list of names more or less famous for icon-painting: Medovártsev the gold-painter (*Illustrated Gospels*, A.D. 1528, Public Library, Petersburg), Dermoyártsev from Nóvgorod with his sons, Alexis Mály of Pskov (*Dormition*, in the Cave Lavra, 1521), Simeon the Metropolitan (1514), Andrew the Protopope (known about 1535), Ostánya, James, Michael, and others at work on the icons of the cathedral of the Annunciation (1554). A still fuller list exists of icon-painters of the seventeenth century, among them many who worked for the Stróganovs at the close of the sixteenth: Stephen Ref'ev or Arefiev (Pl. LI ?), the Borozdíns, the Pérshkins, Sávin, Kostromítinov, the Chírins (Pls. XLV. 2, LIV), Bezmin, Ushakóv (Pl. LIX), Saltánov, Ryazánets (Pl. LIX), Apóstol-Yúr'ev, Ulánov, Poznánski, and many others.² All the same our analysis, comparatively poor as it is in information and especially materials upon which to go, will be able to prove that in all this array of names there are no cases of independent personal creativeness to bring into the mechanism of icon-painting personal artistic and religious feeling; there is no application of talent and toil to make a real change in design, types, and expression, and so create a new model with a character of its own. This we did find in Andrew Rublëv, but in the Nóvgorod school we could point to nothing to equal his works. Something similar, but only in the department of expression, we shall find in Procopius Chírín and some of the Stróganov masters: new types we shall see in dealing with Simon Ushakóv and his pupils, but these are merely in a foreign shape, borrowed from the West. And

¹ A. M. Uspénski, *Dictionary of the Tsars' Painters of Icons and of Pictures during the XVIIth Century*, 2 vols., M. 1910-13.

² Many works of these men are coming to light with recent cleaning, *vide Slav. Review*, I. c., p. 355.

so the history of Moscow icon-painting, in comparison with the early schools of Súzdaľ and Nóvgorod, seems to show us a sort of slackening in personal creativeness ; and all the icon-painters I have enumerated turn out to be merely good craftsmen, with the possible exception of Simon Ushakóv, whom at any rate his own time regarded as an independent artist, though by no means all connoisseurs of icons accept this view. It is not without good reason that nowadays icon-painters still put Andrew Rublëv at the head of their art, and modern writers upon the subject, Murátov, Shchépkin, and others, are almost agreed in regarding the Nóvgorod epoch as the highest and putting the artistic importance of the Moscow school lower : they see in it merely an exaggeration of the 'prayerful element', by which they seem to mean the religious or ritual side ; they describe the impression of the Moscow icons as 'workaday', because of their 'dull' colours, the loss of 'perfect build' (*stróynost'*) in the figures and of 'the former idealistic inspiration'. Against this general verdict the same observers allow the royal icon-painters a certain beauty in the reds and blues, a pleasant folk-character in the buildings and types, and a technically perfect execution.¹

Some answer to this unkind judgement will be found in the results of an historical analysis of the actual productions of Muscovite icon-painting as set forth below : we shall see that it showed no less devotion to its craft than the schools of Nóvgorod or even Súzdaľ. It is true that in this last period it remained a craft, but it was a craft with artistry and skill not unlike the ancient artistic crafts of India and Old Japan. True also that the unfavourable conditions under which icon-painting found itself in Moscow did cause a certain restraint of its progress, of the actual forward movement in carrying out new work upon icons, and that these conditions must be described before going on to the analysis of actual productions. To put it shortly, these unfavourable and even oppressive conditions were first of all the ecclesiastical tutelage, which for a comparatively short time the clergy tried to exercise on the painters, and afterwards the niggardly treatment meted out to them by society in general and afterwards by the Tsars in particular, a treatment which stifled the work and the workers for a century and a half.

As early as 1551, when the workshops were just beginning one

¹ A Westerner is tempted to wonder whether in this later period there were not an Oriental as well as a European influence : the perfection of decorative detail certainly recalls Eastern work, and

so does something in the colouring and surface. This is not to fall into the heresy of Viollet-le-Duc whose *Art Russe*, Paris, 1877, put everything down to the East. E. H. M.

by one to move to Moscow, the Council of the Hundred Chapters (*Stogláv*) published a series of general regulations dealing with icon-painting. These regulations required that the craftsmen 'should be humble and mild men, not given to vain words, living piously, not indulging in quarrels, no drunkards, keeping their souls pure, and living under the supervision of their spiritual guides. Then the Tsar would favour such icon-painters, and the bishops would honour them *above the common people*.' So must the craftsmen deal with their apprentices. The bishops were to take notice of the progress of the apprentices and distinguish by their attention those who were diligent and pious. Otherwise the bishop would inhibit both master and apprentices. The bishop also is directed to inhibit all craftsmen who should paint 'without being instructed, by their own will', or 'not after the pattern' and sell icons so painted to the people: he was not to accept any excuse 'of how they got their living by this craft'. In general, the bishop was to keep careful watch to see that the painters copied ancient models and did not 'paint the Deity out of their own invention'. All these rules and prescriptions had fortunately not the slightest effect, either good or bad. The orthodox clergy in the Russian Church showed itself as little concerned with icon-painting as the Greek;¹ no censorship was established nor any supervision, and the dealings between Church and craft were, as ever, a matter of commercial agreement. However, some historians of Russian art, such as N. I. Uspenski, have found it necessary to justify the fact that the *Stogláv* issued these admonitions, and call them a 'most important' act on the part of the Church, to be explained by some abuse or other arising from the increased numbers of icon-painters. We know well enough the general abuses of Muscovite Russia, drunkenness, debauchery, and the like: there were no special abuses against dogma among the icon-painters, except perhaps in the very latest period in Moscow when they were led astray by Western engravings. I cannot, however, omit to mention the amusing penalties threatened in the *Painters' Guide* (1658; ed. Golyshev), 'he that shall paint an icon out of his own imagination shall suffer endless torment'.²

¹ A late Greek prayer to be said by a bishop over a newly painted icon in Goar, *Euchologion*, 1730, p. 672.

² The *Stogláv* council here mentioned was a great effort made by the young Tsar Ivan the Terrible to bring before a council of the wisest clergy a list of all the various abuses visible in Church and State, and to

have their help in reforming them. It marks an advance of self-consciousness in Muscovy and all Russia, but was naturally without any great effect. The regulations about icons were in close connexion with the attempted reform of ritual and sacred books to which Maximus the Greek devoted his life.

The Muscovite Tsars having united the Russian land and the Russian people, with later many non-Russians about Moscow, gradually came to look on all Russia as their private estate, and tried to administer it as such by the offices (*prikázy*) fixed at Moscow, and also by their own workshops for the advantage of their fisc and royal business.¹ Icon-painters were first summoned to Moscow as a temporary and extraordinary measure to take their share in the unprecedented activity in building and decorating the cathedrals and churches by the palace; but other needs arose and the matter became customary, and such special summonses were still the only way of getting the Sovereign's icon-work done right down to the time of Boris Godunov.² But this method was inconvenient and uneconomical: the icon-painters were apt to be away on some one else's job and could not come within the required time, or avoided the summons and declined the work. In the offices at Moscow they compiled lists of all the icon-painters in various places where they lived or were regularly employed, and the *voevodes* (governors) were strictly required to keep an eye on the absence of icon-painters on jobs or other necessities. Gradually the Sovereign's icon-work grew to a department attached to the Moscow offices, but as a matter of fact it was badly organized. The Troublous Times were approaching and with them complete ruin of the economic and political administration in Moscow. When it became possible to set about putting the Kremlin and its cathedrals in order after the Polish sack, it was found that no provision had been made for setting the icons right, although a great deal had been saved, e. g. icons carried away before-hand and kept. As a temporary arrangement, in 1613-14, the icon-work was attached to the Armoury, but because of the importance of ecclesiastical affairs under Alexêy Mikhailovich matters concerning icons went through the office of Private Affairs. The Icon-chamber included a few of the best craftsmen, as counsellors, experts, and supervisors. But the pay of craftsmen and apprentices was either extremely small or took the form of special rewards in answer to definite claims, so that the craftsmen had to secure their own living by working 'aside'. The 'salaried' icon-painters rarely reached as much as thirty rubles a year, and so the records of the chamber are full of the tearful petitions of the painters. Besides the salary there was an allowance

¹ See I. E. Zabêlin's books quoted on p. 4, n. 3. The street names in Moscow largely preserve the memory of the sites of these royal workshops.

² 1598-1605. Not descended from Rurik, and accused of having murdered Dmitri,

Ivan's younger son, at Uglich, Boris never established his power and his death was followed by the Troublous Times, pretenders, Polish invasions, and civil strife ended by the establishment of the Romanovs in 1613.

in kind, but nothing much, sometimes there is no clothing allowed, sometimes no food or no money. Naturally they all took to making endless petitions, but it certainly seems as if this was due to complete neglect of them on the part of the office, even in the case of the very distinguished painters such as Simon Ushakóv; besides, it was largely a case of the ordinary official procrastination. Of course the painters worked for other employers but they were continually dragged back to work for the Tsar: they had to pass the work of impressed craftsmen, drew the designs for them to paint, looked after the progress of work, repaired the icons in the cathedrals and palace-churches and chapels, gave opinions, drew up estimates for painting, and saw to the acknowledgement of materials received for new undertakings. But the Sovereign's work suffered from the same official delay and was always in arrear, always had to be done in a hurry by a certain date, and nowadays, on reading the amount of time allowed, we can say that the best modern icon-painter would often have to refuse the work for want of time to execute it.

Again, the officials named a short space of time on purpose, expecting that work would not be done to date. To judge by the number of jobs there was enough for a great many painters, but on salaries there were scarcely ever more than five and of these some were always away from the work. Feódor Evtíkhiev Zubóv, an excellent draughtsman and salaried, writes to the office to say that he and his wife are dying of hunger: another, called Matvêev, insulted by an alms of six rubles, prays them not to let him die of hunger. This is of course why we learn from a writ of Tsar Alexis himself in 1660 that 'Feodor Evstifêev, born at Ustyúg, and said to have been formerly one of our icon-painters, now has run away from our service and is living at Yaroslávl with our merchant Alexis Skrýtin, and the Governor is to arrest him there and send him with post horses under charge of a police-officer to the Great Sovereign'. In the office there came in the phrase, 'given a salary above his comrades': so Il'ín in 1668 is given a salary and commons 'above those of the best icon-painters' because 'he paints tiny faces for the adornment of the holy icons'. The most distinguished painters in the best times of the reign of Alexis, Ushakóv, Kozlów, Zubóv, Ryazánets, Leóntiev, Saltánov, Nicetas Pávlovets, when they are put on a salary begin whining: 'one is in rags, Zubóv is dying of hunger, another is in debt all round, all of them are asking for a present of money or commons'.

Hard was the lot of all icon-painters in Russia. The wall-paintings in Moscow began to darken from the soot of candles and

incense, from the dampness of the churches which were never properly warmed; they split off and fell down, and looked so ill that they were often being repainted, and for this the craftsmen were summoned from all parts according to the governors' lists, back from their towns and monasteries and from work for private patrons. Draughtsmen and face-painters, even restorers, were impressed, and the governors when they had found these craftsmen, without any delay in accordance with the Tsar's strict command, sent them straight off to Moscow where they were assigned to their work without any attention paid to their necessities, excuses, or prayers to be let off. What happened, and often happened, was that on his arrival in Moscow, some icon-painter 'from among the orphans of Yaroslavl', for long, for months together, remained in the bazar in his cart with nowhere to stow his children, no home at all. And when at last they get to work, they are given 'for their daily bread two *altýns* and two *dengás* a day', while 'the wages of the masons are raised and they are getting two *grívnas* a day'.¹ For this reason the city icon-painters generally hid away from the summons, or if they were brought along by the police, afterwards ran away. 'In the old days at Vologda there used to be as many as forty masters from among those who used to be at Novgorod or working for the Stroganovs; now many of them have quite given up the icon-trade, some are old and decrepit, can't see what they are painting, and have wandered off to live by begging; at Rostov there are no icon-painters and at Kostroma they have scattered.' To such reports they paid no heed at Moscow, but sent to find up all who were formerly on the lists, and insisted on obedience which ruined for a long time, if not permanently, the living of a painter from a provincial town. Things were no better if, through the governors or bishops, orders for icons were placed with craftsmen in the places where they lived: they would send materials but forget to give directions whether the high lights were to be put in with colour or in gold; or no money for the work would be sent, or very low pay without consideration of the quality of the work; three craftsmen received seven rubles twenty-eight kopecks for a whole series of complex icons with detailed figures. The painters would refuse to take the work and then the bishops, such as Jonas of Rostov, would force them to work on their own premises, and set a clerk to be always with them and look after them.

It comes to this, that Moscow, during all the time when it was the seat of the Tsars, failed to give Russian icon-painting and its

¹ 2 *dengas* = 1 kopeck, 3 kopecks = 1 *altyn*, 10 kopecks = 1 *grivna*, 10 *grivnas* = 1 ruble: a ruble being, say, a crown.

craftsmen the help they required to reach artistic creativeness. Far from it, in consequence of the carelessness and indifference that reigned in the higher circles, it made the worst possible use of an artistic craft which had succeeded in growing up upon Russian soil, depriving it even of liberty in its activity and reducing to nothing its achievements and material prosperity.

One might really think that in the matter of State exploitation of the common stock of spiritual forces the Moscow offices were the precursors of the Bolsheviks. When we analyse the work produced, we shall see that the barbarous taste for detailed icons with a vast number of figures, reminding one in their senseless difficulty of the tricky work done by the later Chinese and Japanese carvers and painters, appealed to those who held the power at Moscow and was by them forced upon the icon-painters. So boldness and skill in drawing and design were stifled, and the art brought down to the mechanical *fryaz'* of the end of the seventeenth century, with its ill-regulated compositions and forms. The one idea that the Muscovites tried to put into action, that of bringing icons back to the Greek models, was clearly an anachronism: for Greek icon-painting at the end of the sixteenth century had itself almost finished its course and produced only such ugly work that the bishops of the Eastern Church who visited Moscow begged for a present of Russian icons: the old models, which would have been more suitable, had become exceedingly rare and could only be found one by one.

All the same there was a lively interest in icons, and this is shown by the stores of wonderful icons, going back to the fourteenth century, preserved in the Moscow churches. In the Uspenski Sobor there is a whole series from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and then a complete tier of monumental icons of the sixteenth: unluckily they were in the seventeenth put into solid repoussé *rizy* (see p. 37) of silver-gilt and unmercifully repainted. In 1916 two big icons of *S. Peter* and *S. Alexis*, Metropolitans of Moscow, were uncovered and show clearly that if the icons of the whole tier were laid bare with equal skill and judgement, Moscow would be in possession of a wonderful collection of artistic examples.¹ Even richer is the cathedral of the Annunciation, though the icons do not go back beyond the fifteenth century: besides the chief iconostas with *Our Lady of the Don* and others, and the chapels on the ground floor, in each of the domes is a chapel with a complete iconostas of the first half of the sixteenth century, with mouldings and frames of exquisite enamel work. The icons are particularly attractive by their

¹ This is said now to have been done.

'fused' painting and tender religious types chosen for the Tsaritsas and their daughters. In the Archangel Cathedral are the icons dedicated in memory of the Tsars from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, who are buried in this their resting-place. In the little cathedral of Our Saviour in the Pine-wood, the iconostas preserves the precious fixed icon of the *Transfiguration* by Rublëv (*vide* p. 91 and Pl. XXI), an ancient copy of *Our Lady of Bogolyúbovo* (*vide* p. 62), and others. The church of the Twelve Apostles in the Kremlin has both Greek icons of the fifteenth century and fine Russian ones of the seventeenth. Other monasteries, Chúdob in the Kremlin, Andrónikov, Símonov, Donskóy, Novospáski, Novodévichi (New Nunnery), Srêzenski (Meeting of Our Lady of Vladimir), Ivanovski, Voznesénski Dêvichi (Ascension Nunnery), contain icons valuable either for their antiquity or their style: so too, many churches, particularly those of Our Lady's Conception, Our Lady of Georgia, Our Lady of Vladimir, and Our Lady of Kazán'. Each has one or more ancient icons and among them the best models for all the Festivals, all the important types of Our Lord, and of Our Lady, and one may say the great majority of the saints of the Orthodox Church. If all these old icons were cleaned Moscow would have a complete set of subjects, and the art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would be able to show that it did accomplish a great deal, even more than there is in Nóvgorod and Pskov. Finally, to pass a considered judgement on the level attained by the icons of Moscow itself, we ought to survey the stores of icons in the iconostases and against the walls of the churches of the Rogozhski cemetery of the Old Believers, the Transfiguration cemetery of the Dissenters who reject the priesthood, and the Nicholas monastery of the Old Believers who made their peace with the State Church (*Edinovértsy*); all these are great museums of icons collected with loving care by the Old Believers at a time when old icons had temporarily lost their value in the eyes of Russian society and the Government.

The rich accumulation of ancient icons in Moscow ought to have answering to it similar riches in the paintings on the walls of churches, but fate which has visited them with frequent fires, and still more the indifference towards monuments of antiquity which continued throughout the eighteenth and half the nineteenth centuries, has left little of the fifteenth- or even sixteenth-century frescoes. Only now, and that in miserable fragments, are we succeeding in uncovering the paintings of the chief cathedrals: but it is absolutely necessary to adduce their evidence in any attempt to ascertain the stylistic character of Moscow icon-painting.

A fresco surviving from a series painted in 1514-19 in the

chapel of the Praise of Our Lady in the Uspenski Sobor was successfully uncovered in 1913. Its general effect naturally recalls those of the Therapon monastery: but this fresco is not only incomparably superior, it belongs to quite a different manner, going back to an entirely separate origin which we put down to the old Súzdal' style of Rublëv's time, that is, the beginning of the fifteenth century. Again the composition of this fresco is quite different, more complicated and more expressive than at Therapon. It is probably due to the influence of Italo-Cretan models. The Italo-Cretan masters had sought to create something to take the place of the ordinary Byzantine *Nativity of Our Lord*, something which should remain within the Greek formula yet answer to the Western themes, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, and particularly *Mary and Joseph adoring the Child*. Now we have the choice of a composition so complicated that the *Nativity* is widened into the theme of *The Praises of the Blessed Virgin*. So the ordinary *Nativity* has added to it the Adoration of the Magi and the Adoration of the Shepherds, and, further, the Grotto of the Nativity with the Manger is, as it were, hung with the blue circle of heavenly cloud or glory within which the Blessed Virgin sits in state, from this moment the Queen of Heaven, on a great carved throne with a round back, holding before her the Child who is giving the blessing with His right hand and holding a scroll in His left.

Of course this theme is far from new, it had appeared in the fifteenth century; but the style is quite new, it might be the personal manner of Theodosius, son of Dionysius, though it certainly has points of resemblance to that of Rublëv: this can be readily seen by comparing the figures of Magi and Angels with the icon of the *Transfiguration* ascribed to Rublëv. As against the Therapon frescoes the movements are less violent, the folds softer, the smoky blue tones of the cloak worn by the Angel of the Holy Night, the pinky-mauve cloak of the Dawn Angel, and the shine upon the pinky-buff hills standing out against the deep indigo of the night sky—all this is similar in conception to the Italo-Cretan icon in the Russian Museum (Pl. XV), and far surpasses the commonplace themes of Therapon.

An example, as important for our historical guidance, might have been the remains of frescoes executed in the cathedral of the Annunciation after its rebuilding in 1489, and uncovered in 1882 by the painter V. D. Fártusov: but an unfortunate mistake covered up and possibly destroyed these remains. What happened was that the committee of experts who were commissioned to oversee the uncovering of the partly exposed frescoes suspected Fártusov of having in too great zeal supplied something of his own. The fact is that the committee

expected to find the Russo-Byzantine style and was confronted with almost Italian painting. To get rid of the suspicions that were abroad, and to make up a complete painting over the spaces where only bits of frescoes and stray figures were left, they entrusted to the icon-painter Safónov of Mstëra the task of filling the gaps with new work in the Russian iconic style. Safónov, to simplify the job, just repainted the whole in the modern Mstëra style such as was used by his journeymen. Luckily Fartusov himself had kept a series of big photographs which allow us more or less to judge of the originals.¹ Among the frescoes was one large one, *In thee Rejoiceth*; the rest are small fields containing scenes from the Gospels (but not the regular Festivals) and figures of Saints. The composition has already made a change in the hills and buildings; instead of the shaly mountains of Greece we have Italian hills with towers in the Renaissance style: again the figures do no more than distantly recall the Greek types; everything is changed, types, clothes, and expression. We see heads lively and naturalistic, full beards right round, and bald crowns (not allowed in icon-painting). It is true that occasionally the type seems absolutely that of the nineteenth-century academic style; perhaps the photographs were retouched, or the frescoes really were supplemented to make them clearer. The figures are slender, too light and graceful even in the case of old men, but they have no bones; they have narrow shoulders and small hands and feet, but the proportions are not so long as in the work of Dionysius. It is the clothes that specially mark the style: there are still chiton and himation, but they are worn like copes after the Western fashion and are fastened with brooches on the breast. The folds are very fine and close like those of silk and cover the whole body: they allow the projection of the knee and shin. Finally the fresco *In thee Rejoiceth* offers many novelties in the types. In the original we ought to be able to study a most curious combination, Italian models going back to Mantegna and Jacopo Bellini mixed with Russian Súzdaľ' icon-painting: if only people could make up their minds to clean off the Mstëra paint and open up this most important early work.²

These points can be studied upon Pl. XLIV, taken from Fartusov's photographs. No. 1 is apparently a Hermit or Prophet wearing his himation like a cope: No. 2 is part of the scene called *The Assembly of S. Michael 'Archistrategus'*. No. 3 looks very Western for a portrait of S. John of Bêlgorod. In all cases the drapery is the main thing.

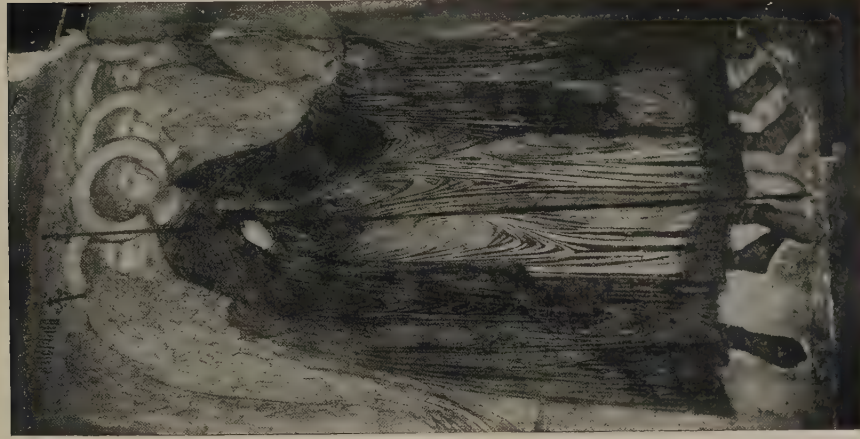
¹ Cf. A. I. Uspenski, 'Ancient Russian Painting (*Zhivopis*)', *Zolotée Runó*, 7-9, 1906, pp. 39-45; *Drevnosti*, Preservation

Committee, III, 1909, pp. 146-77, Pl. xv-xxi; Grabar'-Muratov, pp. 288-96.

² This is said to be going on now.



1. A Prophet (?)



2. The Assembly of S. Michael



3. S. John of Belgorod

XLIV. FRESCOES IN THE CATHEDRAL OF THE ANNUNCIATION AT MOSCOW. *c.* 1500

When we turn to the subjects represented in Moscow icons, we must note the extreme interest shown by society in general, by the painters and even by the clergy, and with it a certain attraction towards the Western source of enlightenment. At the same time there is a strange mingling of worldly and churchy subjects even in the wall-paintings of the palace chambers. In 1553 the Golden Chamber in the Palace was frescoed and Simon Ushakov, on the occasion of a restoration, repainted it in 1672. These were the subjects and divisions of the painting on walls and vaults. In the middle was portrayed Jesus Christ as *Emmanuel* 'within the arches of heaven' with the chalice in His hand, round Him the emblems of the *Four Evangelists*. Below were represented the gates of Heaven with an Angel in them and underneath them a man with a staff in his hand; then a circle with the Sun, and then the wide gates of Hell: upon the gates of Heaven were Chastity, Reason, Purity, and Right: on those leading to Hell, Lechery, Unreason, Wrong, and Uncleaness. Then came the circle of the Earth with waters, winds, &c.: the fiery circle of the Sun and the circle of the Moon: the Air in the shape of a Maiden: the circle of Time winged with the four seasons: the circle of the Creation: the Year in the form of a Man: Death with a trumpet in his hands: in a circle the subject from Proverbs, *Wisdom hath builded her House*: the Angels of the Seven Churches: the Sacrifice of Gideon: the Parable of the Sower, i. e. Jesus Christ upon a throne, before Him, people, birds pecking at seeds, &c., a very literal illustration: Barlaam conversing with Joasaph the king's son: the Parable of the Wedding Feast, Jesus Christ at the Feast: an Angel bringing up to God the soul of the beggar Lazarus: the Prophet Isaiah and the sick king of Israel: the Parable of the Lost Sheep: the Woman and the lost piece of money: the Sainted Russian Princes: the story of the Baptism of Vladimir and Russia: the Blessing of the Righteous: the Heart of the King is in the Hand of God (literally): 'the Ways of the Righteous are bright': the Spirit of the Fear of the Lord' (an Angel and Solomon): 'the Fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom': the Story of Moses and the exploits of Joshua.

As may be seen by this enumeration, the didactic tendency dictated the choice of themes even for the Tsar's chambers, and the choice was not so much a choice as a heaping together governed by the fear of leaving anything out rather than by any particular thought or artistic taste. As was the Palace in Moscow, so was its icon-painting and we see in it not so much a preference of one's own, of what has become dear, such as we saw at Nóvgorod and Súzdal',

as a desire to crowd the whole of Eastern orthodoxy together in Moscow. We may remember the theory that the ideas of the governors must rule the minds of the governed.

In actual fact, if we turn to the iconographic cycles of the Moscow icon-painters, we shall be not a little astonished at the trouble they took to find up models and portraits of the saints.

First, as before, must come the types of the Blessed Virgin : of these one must say that Moscow really collected icons of them and sought them in the farthest confines of Russia and Siberia and beyond on Athos, and even as far as Italy and Spain in the West. The reason for this is that copies of the venerated icons of Rome, Sicily, and Italy came by chance to be brought to Russian churches and there received veneration. And the people who venerated them used to give personal orders to the Moscow icon-painters to copy them. In this form of devotional icons it was that the pictures of Our Lady were multiplied. Let us enumerate just the most widely distributed types (the so-called *vo imya*, 'by the name of'); some are called after places, such as *Our Lady of Vladimir*, or of *Bogolyubov*, others take as their names pious epithets or exclamations or descriptions of the type.

The Eastern Greco-Russian Church venerates hundreds of iconic types of Our Lady, but the Greeks have only the names left them : whereas the Russian Church is still in possession of the icons, and Russian icon-painting can, on receiving an order, execute any one of these types either after an original, or an iconic copy or a drawing. Ever since the seventeenth century tiny copies of all of them have been circulating in coloured engravings. Moscow alone within her walls possesses originals or copies specially venerated or even rendered famous by miracles to the number of forty-six. Nearly all represent the Virgin with the Child in her arms, but the types and versions vary.¹

The most famous among these is the *Vladimir Icon of Our Lady* in the Uspenski Sobor (see *supra*, Pl. VI A and p. 39) : undoubtedly Greek and early Greek (tenth to eleventh century) is *Our Lady of Blachernae*, brought as a present to Tsar Alexis in 1654 by the Patriarch of Antioch, who acquired it in Constantinople because he knew of the Tsar's love for ancient icons : it is painted in encaustic : the type is that of the *Hodegetria* : *Our Lady of Jerusalem*, brought from Nóvgorod in the sixteenth century, Cretan work reproducing the ancient icon in the church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem :

¹ Discussion and illustration of nearly all the types now to be enumerated and of many more will be found in our author's works *The Iconography of Our Lady*, esp. vol. ii

(1915), and *Connexions* (1910). The best of the icons he proceeds to mention have now been gathered into the Historical Museum at Moscow.

Our Lady of Cyprus, of the same origin (it has nothing to do with the miraculous icon venerated in Cyprus under the name of Κυκνότησσα) *Peter's Icon*, copied from an original by the hand of the Metropolitan Peter: all these are in the Uspenski Sobor. In the cathedral of the Annunciation *Our Lady of the Don* (see p. 89), *Barlovskaya Galactotrephusa* from a Greco-Italian original, and *Poemen's*. In the Kazan Cathedral a copy of the miraculous icon of *Our Lady of Kazan*', not long ago stolen. The Palladium of the City and State was the *Iberian Virgin*, sent in 1648 as a true copy of the miraculous *Portaitissa* of the Iberian (i. e. Georgian, in Russian, *Gruzinski*) monastery on Mount Athos. Another copy of the same is called *Gruzinskaya* and is kept in a church named after it in the commercial part of Moscow, where are icons from the hand of Simon Ushakov. We may also mention the *Grebenskaya* Virgin in the church of the same name, Greco-Italian work of the late fourteenth century, now cleaned; *Our Lady of the Passion* in the monastery of the same name and the *Hodegetria of Smolensk* in the Novodêvichi monastery. Specially curious are the types of icons of Our Lady which appeared in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries and even in the eighteenth: such as received the names *The Life-bearing Spring* (a Greek icon), *The Child Playing* (*Vzygranie*), in which He turns round and touches His mother's chin (Greco-Italian), *The Joy of all that mourn, Deliverance from Misfortunes, Addition of Wisdom* (a curious copy of Our Lady of Loretto), *The Unfading Flower* (Greek work), *The bedewed Fleece, The Co-surety* (*Sporichnitsa*) *for Sinners, Our Lady of the three Joys, What shall we call thee, The Word was made Flesh, A Virgin before the Birth*. Among those which still receive most veneration are *Our Lady of Bogolyubov* (the new Manifestation near S. Barbara's Gates), *Vladimir, Georgia, the Don, Iveron, Kazan, Hodegetria of Smolensk, of the Passion, of Theodore* venerated at Kostromá, but since 1612 the patroness of the house of Romanov.

We give this list in order to convey some idea of the number of icons of Our Lady, not merely in the churches but in all the chapels and dwelling-houses, in which no room, no shrine may be without an icon of the Theotokos the interceder for mortals, because Christian prayer is bound up with her. In Italy up to the middle of the sixteenth century many painters were painting pictures of the Madonna, and in Russia every icon-painter painted icons of the Theotokos, not infrequently his whole life long. All these half-lengths were mechanically done from tracings as they were exact likenesses of the same size as their originals: no modification was intended in any detail. How was it possible for mechanical work not to establish

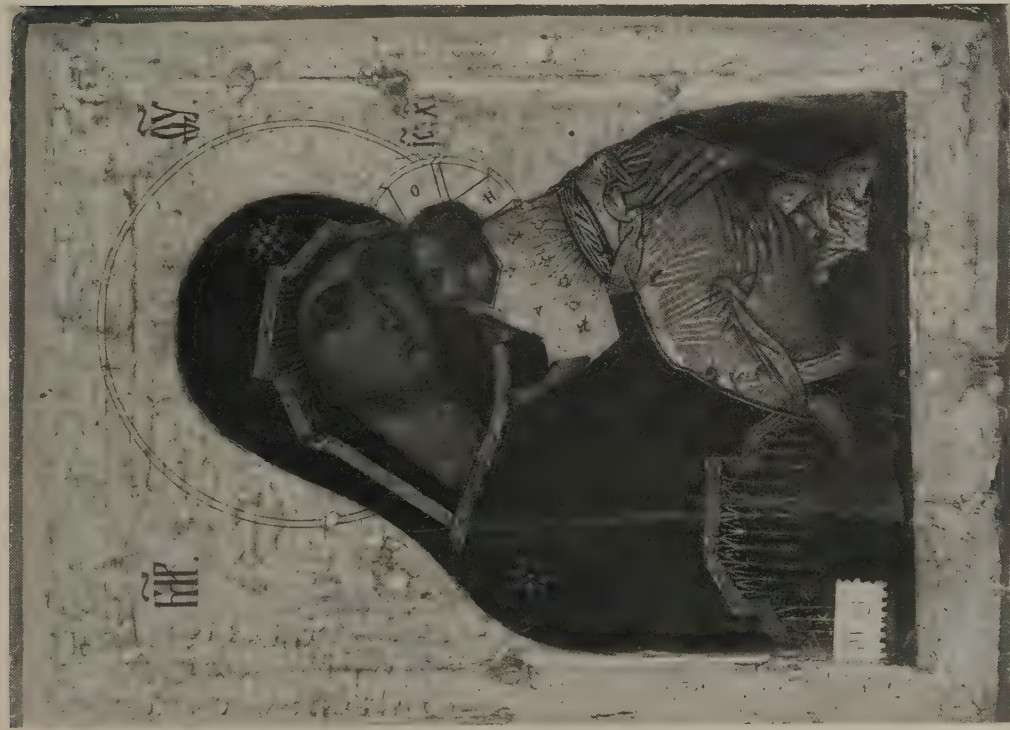
itself in such a field and end in one common manner? And again from the other side how hard it was for an icon-painter to practise personal creativeness!

The icons on Pl. XLV give two more examples of interesting types of Our Lady. Both belong to the class of *Umilenie*. The first still belongs to the Súzdal' school, being a very close early sixteenth-century copy of an icon venerated since about 1500 in the Saviour's monastery of S. Euthymius at Súzdal'. It is in some ways very close to the Nóvgorod Virgin (Pl. XVI. 1), and the difference is most instructive: it is also closely allied to *Our Lady of Vladimir* except that she looks the other way.

The second is a copy of the *Virgin of Vladimir* herself, but made in the middle of the seventeenth century by Procopius Chirin, or rather in his studio (see p. 170). [If our Frontispiece fairly represents the original as repainted at the end of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century, with the faces on Pl. VIA covered and modified, Chirin's model was another repainting of a hundred years later, but even this] was infinitely superior in spiritual subtlety of line and deep tones of colour to anything suggested by his copy. The copy is of course most carefully made, the decorative detail and the application of gold, exquisite, but it is hard and dry, reminding one of an engraving upon metal. The face of Our Lady gives her sorrow without understanding, and the Child's face has lost a child's softness. The figures are too thick-set and the draperies heavy.

It is impossible to enumerate the other Holy Faces of which Moscow collected a wide choice: by the seventeenth century the icon-painting of northern and eastern Russia, save for a few out-of-the-way corners in Perm, Siberia, Chernígov, and Kursk, almost came to an end. All the good commissions came to Moscow, and Moscow had to paint the saints of Ustyúg or Solovétsk. So in the Moscow churches there were many venerated icons of various saints, Russian, Greek, and Eastern.

Among the saints held in greatest honour at Moscow a high place is taken by *S. John the Baptist* (*Prodromos*, *Predtécha*, the Fore-runner as he is more generally called in the Greek Church), not merely for his own sake as a great saint and prophet and the first of ascetics, but also as being the eponymous saint ('angel') of innumerable Johns. But in the expression of the very definite preference it showed for S. John, Moscow icon-painting went far beyond the repetition of the traditional type. This type had been arrived at on the spot, in the Thebaid desert or else in Syria. The oldest example of an icon of the Baptist was that brought by Bishop Porphyry from



XIV. 1. VIRGIN AND CHILD (*UMILENIE*)

XVI cent.



XIV. 2. OUR LADY OF VLADIMIR. COPY BY PROCOPIUS CHIRIN

XVII cent. Pages 150, 170



XLVI. 1. S. JOHN THE BAPTIST. XVII cent.



XLVI. 2. S. ALEXIS THE MAN OF GOD

Egypt or from Sinai (Pl. I. 2). The little board about ten inches (25 cm.) high was clearly the icon of a pilgrim to Palestine who took it back with him as a souvenir from the monastery of the Baptist, after visiting the site of the Baptism of Our Lord. Quickly and roughly executed in encaustic without any smoothing down of the patches of wax, it gives us a direct study from nature of a real anchorite, a man who could live his life in the desert and undergo all privations, who could do without human society, who fled away from it in order to save people and serve them as an example of asceticism. This precise type of an eremite, genuine and living, was a favourite with Byzantine art, which cared for nothing so much as character and scrupulously preserved all characteristic points, such as S. John's high stature, powerful frame, heavy arms, strong legs, and coarse features; only the nose of the Greek John became finer and more aquiline. But nowhere in Greek work do we find any change or toning down of the type or of his indifferent calm, though the composition was complicated by various symbolic attributes. In the Italo-Cretan icons we see rather a sombre type of John or one with a sad expression, very thin and almost like a skeleton in his arms and legs. The icons for the festival of the *Decollation of S. John* show him first all alone in the desert, and then in front of him on the ground his head upon the charger ready to be brought before Herodias. As he prays in the quiet of the hills the anchorite has a scroll with the words 'Lo, thou seest, O God the Word, how thine elect suffer': and by a tree there lies an axe ready to hew down the tree 'that bringeth not forth good fruit'. Even more sombre in expression is the icon of *S. John with Wings* as the 'Angel of the Lord' announcing to the world the coming of the Saviour, but holding in his hands a chalice with the 'Sacrificial Lamb' lying within it in the naked form of the Child Jesus 'that taketh away the sins of the World'.¹

In Russian work big icons of S. John the Baptist are generally half-lengths, small ones are either half-lengths or whole: they keep to the Greek foundation and also the robing of the eremite in raiment of camel's hair, a long sheepskin cloak with the fleece outside, and wings and the chalice with the Lamb,² or else they just show the figure of the Baptist without any attributes except the cross or staff that he took up or a pilgrim's staff in his hands.³ Closely allied to figures of S. John the Baptist are those of other ascetic saints such as the *Holy Confessor Alexis the Man of God*: Pl. XLVI. 2 gives

¹ See Halle, Pls. 26, 43-5, after Murátov.

² Halle 45 = Réau 38, no wings.

³ Pl. XLVI. 1. *S. John the Fore-runner*.
On the scroll 'Repent ye, &c.'

us a seventeenth-century version of the type. Above is the head of Our Lord as the young Emmanuel. The main icon was no doubt copied from a large 'fixed' icon in some chapel, and this had all the events of the saint's life about its margin. But these dried up and bony figures of emaciated ascetics wear an expression of spiritual calm and equanimity such as we cannot find either in Greco-Italian icons or in the paintings of the West, or yet in the famous S. John of Alexander Ivanov.¹ This in itself is enough to convince us that the icon is capable of reaching the highest levels of expression, a concrete artistic embodiment of spiritual character and content embracing the highest principles in man. In a chapel of the cathedral of the Annunciation and in many parish churches are such remarkable icons of the Baptist; among them several by Procopius Chirin, both originals and copies, whether full or half-length. No better examples could be found by which to judge of Moscow icon-painting with regard to the question between mere craftsmanship and true creativeness. The painter has stopped exactly at the point where one should have passed over into the other. The case of Simon Ushakov shows how little it is possible to remain within the bounds of a craft and yet exercise free creativeness. The history of Italian art shows us just as plainly that Cimabue and Duccio remained at icon-painting and within the bounds of a craft, whereas Giotto passed on to creativeness in wall-painting. Still we do find truly artistic works in icon-painting and one cannot but wish that certain Russian icons should be published in reproductions worthy of them.

Besides the general iconographic cycle and the Russian supplements to it, Moscow icon-painters in the sixteenth century accepted the whole of the new material elaborated by the Greco-Oriental school and regarded it as the last word in their craft. It mostly consisted in themes of a mystico-didactic character, then spreading everywhere. The Russian icon-painters followed eagerly after all such novelties. We can see this well by the question that Viskováty,² a clerk of the Tsar's Council, raised before the *Stoglav* Council. He called attention to the disturbing novelties introduced by the Nóvgorod and Pskov painters into the icons put into the cathedral of the Annunciation after the fire in 1547. One of the icons that offended his orthodoxy is still preserved in the cathedral: it hangs on the southern side-wall by the iconostas and contains four subjects, all of them didactic. *God rested on the Seventh Day* (*vide* p. 109),

¹ e. g. Réau, ii, pp. 141-54, Pl. 43.

² The best account of the matter is in 329; see also Solov'ev, *Hist. of Russia*, ii, p. 440, and Golubinski, *Hist. R. Ch.*, II. 1, p. 841.

Busláev, *Historical Sketches*, ii, pp. 281-

The Only-begotten Son (cf. Pl. XXIX), *Come, O People, worship the Godhead in three Persons (Triipostasny)*, *In the Grave with His Flesh, in Hell with His Soul as God*. Viskovaty, it is true, only pointed to particular parts of these icons and details, in particular the representation of God the Father Sabaoth (*vide* p. 106, n. 1), the hands of the Crucified One being 'slackened' (that is, drooping at the elbows after the Western fashion), the Son in the Bosom of God the Father, God the Father resting on the Seventh Day, and suchlike. The second meeting of the Council was under the direction of Silvester, the favourite of Ivan the Terrible, and it is possible that these theological subtleties, though there were undoubtedly offences against the principles of Byzantine iconography as laid down by the sixth and seventh Oecumenical Councils, were really brought up in order to make political attacks upon Silvester. The Council had to use its authority to moderate the orthodox zeal of Viskovaty, and to give a decision which covered these novelties from the general standpoint of theology: but naturally neither his protest nor the Council's definitions put a stop to the new movement. Ivan himself had inquired of the same Council how the *Old Testament Trinity* should be represented; this in view of the differing versions, e. g. some painters gave all three Angels cruciferous haloes, while others only to the central one. 'How ought it to be according to the Divine Laws?' asked the Tsar. Some Nóvgorod interpreters, according to Joseph of Volokolamsk, even thought that the Old Testament Trinity as a type of the Holy and Undivided Trinity must not be painted at all, because Abraham is entertaining God and two Angels. The answer to this 'heresy' is that in the icon of the Trinity all three Angels share the same throne,¹ but Angels cannot share the throne of God. We must add that archaeologists will scarcely be able to use these details to distinguish icons painted before the *Stoglav* Council from those after it: both before and after the different versions were used. All we can say is that serious regard for exact dogma in the details of representations cannot be marked before the Council of 1667, that is, just before the collapse of icon-painting.

Nevertheless at the end of the sixteenth century it was customary to place at the top of many icons the composition called *Paternity* (*Otechestvo*), as already in Pl. XLII, or the well-known Western type of God the Word in the form of the *Great High Priest after the order of Melchisedec* (cf. Pl. XLIX), a theme much in favour in the sixteenth century, or *God of Sabaoth* in a similar form and figures

¹ *Soprestól'ny* = σύμβωμος or σύνθρονος, as *prestol* = both throne and altar in the Christian sense.

of the *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost* within circles and stars.¹ A favourite theme to present God the Word was a quadripartite icon with the subjects *In the Grave in His Flesh, In Hell with His Soul as God, And on the Throne with His Father, And in Paradise with the Penitent Thief*.

It was in the sixteenth century that there appeared icons and series of icons for the days and 'Festivals' of the *Lenten and Flowery Triodia*. The Lenten gives the chronicle of Our Lord's life up to His Passion, including *the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Parable of the Figtree, of the Ten Virgins* (Pl. XXXV. 2), *the Story of the Magdalene, the Institution of the Lord's Supper*, and so on for each day of Holy Week, and the Flowery Triodion all from the Resurrection to Trinity Sunday. There were separate icons of *All Saints Sunday* (first after Pentecost), *The Holy (Nicene) Fathers' Sunday* (first after Ascension Day), *Orthodoxy Sunday* (first in Lent), *The Almighty in Strength* (Pl. XXXIII, vide p. 106), *The Blessed Army of the Heavenly King, Thou art all Sweetness, O Saviour*, icons of *Eight Parables* (e. g. Pl. XXXV), *The Story of the Blind man and the Lame*² after the sermon of Cyril of Turov, *The Restoration of the Church of the Resurrection, O Father Glorify Thy Son, The Icon of the Seven Sacraments, of the Ten Commandments, Let God arise, Icons on Psalms lxxxi or cxlviii* (cf. Pl. XXVIII).

Special favourites were icons furnished with profound explanation of theological parallels, with texts on the frames, and even metrical verses. Such is the icon of *The Fruits of Our Lord's Suffering on the Cross*, which was also circulated in the seventeenth century as an engraving after the Kievo-Moldavian icon-painting,³ and in the later *fryaz'*: in the midst we have the Crucifixion in all its height, length, and depth, the tree of Salvation with many fruits upon it, the Church as a ship with the Evangelists, Death struck down by God's right hand, Hell fettered, and so on. The best-known subject of all is *Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her Seven Pillars* (Prov. ix. 1), which comes in the service for Lady Day. The subject, taken quite literally, was common upon the walls of monastic refectories and porches, also on cups carved in coco-nut, and in carved icons. It unites matter from the Old and New Testaments, the Crucifixion under a baldachino standing upon seven thin columns,

¹ Most of the complicated icons spoken of in the following pages may be found in Likhachëv's *Materials*.

² Halle, Pl. 42, see p. 114, n. 1.

³ D. A. Rovinski, *Russian Popular Pic-*

tures, v. 183-7. Kiev was now under more direct Western influence than Muscovy, and its great archbishop, Peter Mohila, was a Moldavian.



XLVII. 1. ASCENSION. 2. DESCENT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT
XVII cent. S. Giorgio dei Greci, Venice. Pages 162, 155 n. 3

by it the Temple at Jerusalem, and a feast according to the text which follows, 'She hath killed her beasts; she hath mingled her wine, she hath also furnished her table. She hath sent forth her maidens, calling together with a high summons' (so the LXX). There follows a sermon upon wisdom and folly, with allegories according.

Eastern iconography found a source and a model in the ingenious theological dialectic which exercised itself in 'profound' interpretations; for instance, the interpretation given in the sixteenth century to an interesting detail in the composition of the *Descent of the Holy Ghost*.¹ The oldest version of the scene showed the Twelve Apostles sitting in a semicircle like a synod or council. In the midst they later set Our Lady as the image of the Church, or within this semicircle was added² the crowd that had come to hear the Apostles, in wonder and confusion talking various languages. Finally, to give more dignity, for the crowd was substituted an allegorical figure of the Cosmos in the form of a crowned man holding upon his knees an open scroll supposed to contain the Gospel, preaching in all the languages of the world in accordance with the text at the end of S. Matthew and the apocryphal stories of the Apostles preaching in all lands. But soon the icon-painters either failed to understand what was meant by the empty space round which the Apostles were sitting, or confused the idea of Cosmos with that of the Earth: any way they took to making this space into a kind of dark cave, and even separated it off by an arch upon columns, and this is still done both in Greek and Russian icons. The last result was the following interpretation arising among the Greeks in the fifteenth century, reaching Russia by the sixteenth and preserved in the Painters' Guides. 'The world is old because of the sin of Adam: he sits in a dark place, because he remains in unbelief: he is vested in a red robe (as the King Cosmos) as a witness of his having offered bloody sacrifices to devils: his crown means the kingdom of Sin, he holds a cloth (his scroll, misunderstood) with twelve scrolls, these are the Twelve Apostles.'³

To conclude this survey of Moscow icon-painting in the sixteenth century from the side of content and subjects, it may be remarked that besides those enumerated there came in, especially towards the

¹ Buslaev, *op. cit.* ii, pp. 291 sqq.

² Gospels of Rabula, A.D. 586, Laur. Syr. Cod. 56: it contains two versions of the scene, one with Our Lady, and one with the crowd.

³ The Greek origin of this interpretation is shown by a seventeenth-century icon at

S. Giorgio dei Greci, Pl. XLVII. 2, ἡ ἀγία πεντηκοστή: in the cave under the arch sits the king and holds up in a cloth silver vessels, pearls, and suchlike, with the inscription ἡ τοῦ κόσμου δόξα. It also appears on compartment 14 on Pl. LVII.

end of the century, morally edifying and also eschatological subjects such as *The Last Judgement*, *The Apocalypse*, *The Canons (Hymns) at the Passing of the Soul*, *Visions of the Life after Death*, *Visits to the Torments of Sinners*, and the like : but as this class of icon did not really spread until the next century, and then took new models derived from Greek and South Slav iconography, we shall examine it later (*vide* p. 192).

If we now pass on to the technique of the sixteenth-century Moscow school, the first examples to take are the great 'fixed' icons with scenes added all round them, which are the most prominent productions of the time. In the Uspenski Sobor are two great icons (more than two metres high) representing the Metropolitans of Moscow, *Peter* and *Alexis*¹: they come next after the Nóvgorod originals, and in them we have visible all the characteristic points of late Nóvgorod work, slender proportions, the contours of the folds scarcely indicated, and quite without plastic modelling, small extremities, a monumental placing of the subjects very much, so to speak, the icon; the ornamentation of the bishops' vestments is very rich, and there are many figures in white raiment. S. Peter is vested in a pale greenish *sakkos* with gold circles upon it, and a white head-gear.² Brown vestments are marked with light blue complementary reflexes, and indeed all the draperies are relieved by varicoloured reflexes which give a kind of transparency to the shadows. But the chief merit of the Moscow icons and the chief point in which they differ from those of Nóvgorod is their colouring, which was the great achievement of the craftsmen of the mid sixteenth century : it was on this that they prided themselves as being their show side. Against the light gold grounds of the central fields, or the pale turquoise of the surrounding scenes,³ we see in the one case the delicate half-tones of pale ochre, yellowish-buff vestments, tender blue, bright turquoise, subtle *prázelen'*, delicate carmine, and only a few rich patches of brick red, pure brown, dark crimson, and bright vermilion or thick *prázelen'* standing out strongly against the general water-colour effect. Specially decorative is the colour of the hills, the regular Nóvgorod 'heels', greenish, mauvish, and the buildings of white-buff stone and pink marble.

In the Russian Museum, as specimens of the early Moscow

¹ *Svêtilnik*, 1914, No. 4, pp. 23-32, Plates.

² *Klobúk* : strictly the cloth covering the square-topped high head-dress, or *kamilávka*, and falling from it behind, such as is worn

by S. Alexis on Pl. LV : often used for the two together. A white *klobuk* was the special mark of the Metropolitan of Moscow.

³ Called variously *tyabló*, *vide* p. 30, n. 1, a board, *kleymó*, a seal, or *zhit'ya*, lives.

manner to compare with other styles, there is a most remarkable icon of *Andrew the Fool* (vide p. 115), and two splendid fixed icons of a large size : *The Old Testament Trinity with its Deeds*, and *The Transfiguration with Small Festivals* likewise. These were obtained from the nunnery of the Virgin's Protection at Súzdaľ which has been already (e. g. Pl. XIX. 1) mentioned as a rich storehouse of early Russian work and will be cited again below. The icon of *Andrew* is not accessible for reproduction and is very similar to Nóvgorod work. That of the *Trinity* produces a perfect effect by its colouring : Nóvgorod icons, even that in the church of SS. Peter and Paul, *Let everything that hath breath Praise the Lord*, cannot compare with it. In the icon of the *Trinity*, as in those of *Peter* and *Alexis*, the beauty is founded upon the opposition between the generally light colours and the rich patches. In this the colouring is incomparably richer ; instead of a general effect like that of a water-colour, we have almost the richness and depth of oil-painting of the time of the great early Flemings : and this not only in the central picture but in the small fields all round. The marvellous subtlety and harmony of the juxtapositions of colour, brown and green, light blue and chocolate, bright vermilion with dark green, tender reddish ochre with pale *prázelen'*, and the way in which each little scene is lit up by a tiny spot of bright vermilion, make the whole icon like a precious picture in enamel, brilliant in decorative beauty. At the same time the icon is meant to rouse interest among lovers of theological subtleties by its far-fetched content : in the thirty compartments round the icon of the *Trinity* are represented all the appearances of Angels, either mentioned in Holy Scripture or supposed by its interpreters : for instance, the appearance of the 'Angel of the Lord' instead of God the Father, or God the Word in the Creation and Fall of Man and the casting down of the Devils, in the companion of Tobit, the appearance to Moses together with the Burning Bush, the appearance to Joshua, and suchlike. In these little pictures the artist has carefully diversified the soil of the hill or mountain on which he has arranged his figures, distinguishing yellow or reddish rocks, pale greyish shale, green meadows, to make his composition clearer. Particularly curious is the little picture which shows Lot's wife as a Greek statue in white marble instead of a pillar of salt, alongside of the blazing city of Sodom : but no less attractive are all the others executed with mastery and care.

Equally remarkable is an icon of the *Transfiguration of Our Lord* that reproduces many of Rublëv's peculiarities, and so indicates clearly the survival of traditions going back to the early Súzdaľ school.

The general composition shows this as compared with Rublëv's *Transfiguration*: the figures of Our Lord and the Apostles going up hill along a ravine and coming down the other side are quite in the manner of the fifteenth century: but instead of the three symmetrical mountains to accommodate Our Lord, Moses, and Elias, there is one single top and this differs from the Nóvgorod original. But everything else in the central composition is preserved, the circle with a star for Our Saviour, and the same poses, Peter just getting up on his knees after having fallen prone, and calling out to Our Lord.¹ Round about the *Transfiguration* are set twenty-four compartments with all the events of the Gospel story up to the *Dormition of the Virgin*, and below the *Exaltation of the Holy Cross*, *Our Lady's Protection* (*Pokrýv*), the *Decollation of S. John the Baptist*, the *Miracle of Michael the Archistrategus* (*vide* p. 136, n. 1), the *Miracle of S. George*, &c.² No photograph of this icon of the *Transfiguration* is available, and that of the *Trinity* does not lend itself to successful reproduction.³

A fair example of such an icon with many scenes round is Pl. XLVIII. This *S. Nicholas* is a later copy of a 'fixed' icon of the early sixteenth century, itself following precisely a Nóvgorod original, without any change in buildings, hills, or details. It is curious that no actual Nóvgorod original is known, nor do we know the Greek models which would have preceded such, and from which this is certainly simplified. There are, however, in the Balkan churches frescoes giving the scenes of S. Nicholas's life. The saint is vested as usual in a chasuble covered with crosses: the inscription is unintelligent; *A* for Hagios, *otets'* (father), *Nikolae*, the last word having tittles, though there is no contraction. Our Lord and Our Lady appear above in nebuly roundels. The scenes are not to be reduced to a consistent order: four along the top—birth, baptism, ordination as deacon, ordination as archbishop; then four down the dexter side—learning to read (out of order), the saint saves a ship from foundering, saves three men from the sword, appears to three men in prison; five down the sinister side—appears to Constantine in a dream, appears to Ensarêkh (a mistake for *Eparchos* = governor), saves Demetrius from drowning, cures a man with a devil, drives a devil out of a tree; six along the bottom—buys a piece of stuff from a Tyrian and gives it to a poor woman (?), saves from the Saracens Basil the son of Agricus, burial, translation (to Bari in 1087, which we celebrate on

¹ Cf. Millet, *Iconographie*, p. 227, f. 192, S. Paul's monastery, Athos.

² Pl. LVII answers very closely to this description save for different scenes about it.

³ Grabar'-Muratov, pp. 317, 319, gives the central scene and some of the margin of a similar rather later *Trinity* in the Tret'yakov gallery.



XLVIII. S. NICHOLAS WITH MIRACLES

Early Moscow School. XVI cent.

December 6), he heals a lame man. It is curious that the miracles which were most popular in the West, such as the restoration of the salted children, or the dowry given to the three girls, as carved on Winchester font, do not appear.¹

The cathedral of the Annunciation at Moscow preserves as untouched as an archaeologist would have them the precious iconostases of the small chapels fitted up in three of the small domes about 1563-4. We know that the decoration of the cathedral was directed by Pope Silvester himself, and that he invited for the purpose the very best skill of Nóvgorod and Pskov. Some of the icons have kept their silver frames with enamel or filigree adornments and the original olive varnish. The entrance to these chapels is from the ladies' apartments of the old palace and goes along the roof of the cathedral: the chapels are so small that there is not room for more than four people to attend a service: in the chapel of the *Assembly (Sobor) of Our Lady* is a beautiful icon of that subject and of the *Nativity of Our Lord*, both of perfect drawing and painting, beautiful for the colours, the play of brown and deep red with weak reflexes of *prázelen'* and light blue, laid on in the 'fused' manner. It is curious that the features on the tiny heads are treated so that one thinks of them as large. In the chapel of the *Assembly of the Archangel Gabriel* is a magnificent icon of the *Annunciation* with Italian buildings: this time Gabriel's mantle is of bright vermilion like that of a warrior, while his chiton is *prázelen'*. The usual colour for the himation in the sixteenth century is light buff, and the Italians make the undergarment dark mauve. The fellow icon to this is the *Assembly of Gabriel*, while next to it the *Hodegetria of Smolensk* is of quite different style, though of the same date and likewise 'fused'. Another workshop executed the icons of the chapel of the *Entry into Jerusalem* with a fixed icon of that festival and one of the *Raising of Lazarus*. In all the chapels the Royal Doors have pictures of the *Annunciation* and the *Evangelists* with perhaps the *Trinity* above and the *Eucharist*.²

These icons are indeed most valuable as precise evidence of the transfer to Moscow of the Nóvgorod workshops and their blending with the tradition of Súzdal'. It is interesting to know that during the Troublous Times all the icons were taken from the chapels and

¹ Most of the events come in Symeon Metaphrastes, 6 Dec., Migne, *P. G.* cxvi. 317-56: but I cannot find the story of the Tyrian nor quite read the inscription.

² Grabar'-Muratov gives fourteen illustrations of icons from these chapels including most of those above mentioned: see also

Monuments of Russian Art, Pt. III, published by the Imperial Academy of Arts, and *Zolotoe Runo* (*supra*, p. 110, n. 1). I well remember the impression produced upon me by the beauty of these chapels which I visited at our author's recommendation. E. H. M.

stored in the department of the Great Treasury and put back in 1614, having been handed over to the cathedral in accordance with an exact description and inventory of all the decorations and precious stones set in the haloes, and also an enumeration of those which had previously been lost. The exactness of the description, which notes that one icon has 'half its frame torn away', or 'no haloes', or 'haloes and shoulder ornaments taken away', proves that in the time of Michael Feodorovich these icons were already old and not newly painted. It is typical that some of the defects noted have never been supplied and remain defects until this day.

A type of painting, distinguished by highly ornamental clothes and vestments, appeared at Moscow in the mid sixteenth century and is a late echo of the Italo-Cretan icon-painting going back to Venetian and late Sienese models. Let us take an icon, No. 3113 in the Russian Museum, brought from the Pokrov nunnery at Súzdal'. It is entitled *Upon thy right hand did stand the Queen*¹ and shows Our Lord as the Great High Priest after the order of Melchisedec: He is flanked by Our Lady and S. John the Baptist. An inscription upon the back states that the icon was presented by the Metropolitan Macarius with his blessing to Ivan Ivanovich, son of Ivan the Terrible, about 1562. It has now been beautifully cleaned and done up. Our Lord wears a crown, a royal dalmatic of brocade, with an omophorion, holds a sceptre and Gospel in His hands, and is seated upon a throne. Our Lady is likewise crowned and vested as a Queen: S. John wears a long garment of camel's hair with a himation over it. All three figures are absolutely iconic in their fleshless and bodiless immobility, unnaturally slender proportions, and the deathly want of expression in the faces. They give us the poorest possible hopes of the future of the art. For this asceticism is no expression of something belonging to real life, but merely the mark of the icon impressed upon Christian pictures and turning them into empty and lifeless forms. The only thing still alive about the icon is the decorative side and the elaborate vestments. This is now making the icon kin to the precious palls and hangings in silk and gold thread: it is by no mere chance that about 1556 the Tsarítsa Anastásia Románovna executed in her broidery room just such a hanging, of this same subject, for an altar on Mount Athos (now in Khilandar): there is the same insipid

¹ Pl. XLIX. Above Our Lord's head, 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec', Ps. cx. 4 = Heb. v. 6. Above Our Lady: 'Upon thy right hand did stand the Queen in golden garments',

Ps. xlv. 9. Upon S. John's scroll is written, 'He that hath the Bride is the Bridegroom, but the friend of the Bridegroom which standeth', John iii. 29.



XLIX. THE QUEEN DID STAND

c. 1562

piety in the faces, the same soft smoothness in the forms, and the same lifelessness in the whole picture.¹

There is a remarkable collection of icons still preserved in the sacristy of the Pokrov nunnery at Súzdal': naturally the greater part of them represents Our Lady in various manifestations, especially *Our Lady of Vladimir, of Theodore, Her Protection, In Thee Rejoiceth*, all offerings from Tsaritsas, their daughters, and the wives and daughters of boyars. Among them is one of *Our Lady of Georgia*, in memory of Maria Temryukovna,² with all its trappings complete, hangings, and pearl *ryaski* (pendants upon the forehead).

At the Rogozhski and Transfiguration cemeteries are many icons from the old collections of Soldátenkov, Rakhmánov, Egórov, and others. Besides the icons noticeable for their finish, we must mention some for special iconographic details showing how such things survive. In the last-named collection is an icon of the *Resurrection*, apparently belonging to the Pskov school, still severe and correct in style, and with Gospel scenes all round. In this icon the Angel is rolling aside from the grave a *round* porphyry stone like a millstone. Now the stone still shown on a pedestal in the Angel's Chapel of the church of the Resurrection is like a bit of millstone.³ But Willibald the English pilgrim in A.D. 725 was shown a great square stone, and square it has generally been in Christian iconography. There is a curious carved icon in the Russian Museum (probably from the border of a big icon of the *Resurrection*) entitled *The Holy Women at the Tomb*: it shows an open cave: within it an open sarcophagus, and inside that the linen cloths lying in disorder. Over them bends S. Peter and touches them with his hand as though he could not believe his eyes. Right and left sit two Angels in white raiment on star-shaped (instead of round) stones rather like porphyry or serpentine. Between the Angels stand the four Holy Women bringing spices: the one in front has three stars embroidered upon her cloak, one upon the forehead and the others upon her shoulders, and is thereby marked out as Our Lady. Above the cave is a strip of blue cloud and above the hill may be seen under an arch half-figures of Angels still holding in their hands folds of their albs with which to wipe away their tears, but already looking up to the sky for the vision of the risen Lord.

Several icons of the early Moscow school are preserved in the

¹ Kondakov, *Athos*, pp. 246-8, Pl. XL. Russian broideries, Shchekótov, *Sofia*, I.

² The second wife of Ivan the Terrible, 1561-9, daughter of a Circassian prince.

³ The arrangement may have been like

that of the tomb-cave on the site called Nicephoria at Jerusalem, where the entrance was closed by a round stone rolling back into a special slot on the left of the entrance: see Kondakov, *Syria*, p. 265, f. 69.

church of the Conception of Our Lady (*Zachátie*), behind the Bazar (*Ryady*) at Moscow: a church worthy of all attention: there is, for instance, the great fixed icon of the *Conception*, with thirty-two small panels and forty-eight tiny scenes round the centre-piece: these are exceedingly characteristic. Many more are the icons in the monasteries of Our Lady of the Don, Simonov, Danílov, Srêtenski (meeting *Our Lady of Vladimir*), and of the Passion.

We can now lay down definitely about the first Moscow school of icon-painting, that it made its own the best traditions of the Súzdal' school and of Rublëv; assimilated in the middle of the sixteenth century the flower of the Nóvgorod and Pskov schools, enlarged its local stock of iconographic themes by taking in the subjects in favour over the whole of Russia and with them new Greek compositions, and finally concentrated its creative power above all upon the elaboration of the decorative or colouristic side of the icon.

To make a comparative judgement let us take two representations of the *Ascension*: one a small votive icon (with the patron saints of the family in the borders),¹ and another in the church of S. Giorgio dei Greci at Venice.² The icons are of about the same date and it looks at first sight as if the Russian were copied from the Greek: but there are divergences: there are no trees and in accordance with the old tradition the circle ascending into the sky is borne aloft not by two but by four Angels, and in heaven the doors of the celestial paradise stand open. Nevertheless the Russian icon does show an assimilation of the Greek composition: but again how commonplace is the Greek icon and at the same time how stiff and affected. One group with S. Peter is thinking sadly of the departing Saviour, the other with S. Paul is triumphantly waving its arms foreseeing the grandeur of the Church: the Russian icon makes no difference between the groups, they show astonishment, fear, and regret, all of them hold up their hands. But the Russian is a masterpiece of colouring: the ground is pale turquoise, upon it the colours stand out as if on fire, dark red, dark violet, blue, bright vermilion, brilliantly red almost orange ochre, misty *prázelen*' of the himation above dark blue or ochre; this play of colour is like jewels, rubies, garnets, topazes, all fused with the tenderest touch. Against the many-coloured crowd

¹ Pl. L. No. 1528 of the Russian Museum. Heading in cursive letters, *The Ascension of Our Lord*. On the dexter margin is S. John the Divine (perhaps S. Peter) and below him S. Basil the Great; on the other side the prophet Habakkuk

or the obscure S. John Kushchnik and S. Gregory. The saints below cannot be recognized.

² Pl. XLVII. 1, p. 155. ἡ 'Ανάληψις τοῦ Χριστοῦ.



L. ASCENSION WITH SAINTS
So-called Stroganov Style. XVII cent.

the two Angels, in palest blue and white robes counterchanged, stand out like light falling from heaven. That is why we cannot deny its own level of merit to Moscow icon-painting in the sixteenth century. In colouring it is the equal of the Venetian masters and handed on this colouring even into the seventeenth century.

These last triumphs of Moscow icon-painting are largely due to its having recruited for itself many craftsmen working for the Stroganovs in northern and eastern Russia. And again, these craftsmen finding themselves in Moscow began to work in the taste of the place and particularly they acquired, what we have just described, the harmonious colouring.

IX

THE STROGANOV SCHOOL AND THE EARLY XVIII CENTURY

THE 'Stróganov school' of Russian icon-painting is in itself a term as vague and uncertain in meaning as that of the 'Korsun' schools. Some make it extremely wide, including all Moscow icons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Others reduce it on all sides and bring it almost to nothing, or at any rate raise the question what really was the Stroganov school. Such are the great students and collectors, Filimonov, fifty years ago, and now N. P. Likhachëv. The only facts we really know amount to this : that the great commercial magnates of north and east Russia, the Stroganov family, had their establishments at Ustyúg, Sol'výchegodsk, and Perm, and were in these regions great builders and adorners of churches, and that somewhere (we do not know where) they kept a workshop of their own for painting icons. This existed for two generations at least and from it proceeded a series of northerners, skilled craftsmen known either by tracings in Painters' Guides, or by their actual works at Moscow or by their having passed into the Tsar's service. There is an idea that this Stroganov school took over the traditions of some Ustyúg school, but this is not a fact, but only an idle guess of dilettanti who knew no more early Ustyúg icons than we do (as even D. A. Rovinski admits), unless we are to admit as from Ustyúg any northern icons, mostly emanating from monasteries, and offering pictures of the saints specially honoured in the north. On the contrary it is to the Stroganovs that icon-painting in the north and east of Russia is indebted for turning it to a better future. They were the first, as Rovinski himself puts it very definitely, 'to see icon-painting as an art and to take trouble about the beauty of icons and the variety of compositions'. 'The Stroganovs' icon-painters', he goes on to say, 'more exactly the men who executed the orders given by the Stroganovs, used to make new designs and rarely repeated one and the same icon without making variations and additions.' This is a very important statement but it ought to be followed up and substantiated by a study of the icons themselves. As a matter of fact

we do notice in the masters who are known to have worked for the Stroganovs, e.g. Stephen Borozdín, Procopius Chírín, and Nicephorus Sávin, a tendency to rearrange 'orders'¹ of people, of Our Lord's disciples and suchlike, and an inclination to a new arrangement and modern forms in the buildings, while keeping the old compositions.

But these same icons went into the common stock in the shape of tracings, and so we have under the name of 'Stroganov icons' often nothing more than copies. The only thing would be to go right through the works ascribed to each master and assign each his individual peculiarities, if such there be; this would give us something to go on in distinguishing the Stroganov men from the ruck of Moscow painters who imitated them wholesale. This at present is impossible, because nearly all collections are inaccessible whether public or private, in particular that of the Counts Stroganov in Petersburg.² The house of Stroganov, as the biographer of one member of the house writes,³ was already in the fifteenth century distinguishing itself among noble Russian families by various services to the State. Its great wealth had been acquired by large-scale commercial enterprises and was utilized for the subduing of the Cheremísa, Ostyaks, Votyaks, and Nogai, and finally for the invitation extended to Ermák Timofíevich and his Don cossacks to conquer Siberia: this they carried through with their own resources, as also the protection of Kazan during the Troublous Times and other things for the good of Russia. The state of things in north Russia from Vologda to Perm gave the first place to the Stroganovs as leaders of the infant civilization: and their taking part in the painting of icons was no doubt for the advancement of the art.

This is why out of the dark background of Russian traditions about icon-painting there has to this day stood out a kind of faith in the independent development of the art in north-east Russia among craftsmen working for the Stroganovs or in workshops belonging to them. The modern Russian icon-painter does recognize the importance of the ancient Nóvgorod school, but what he really prides himself on is the skill of the Stroganov school. In this he has distinguished three manners, first, second, and third: the last being also called the Baron's. But it is quite clear that into the first he puts all works which can boast beauty of colour and perfect execution. Into the

¹ *Chín* (cf. p. 31, n. 1), an 'order' such as the seven Orders of Angels, Gr. *τάξις*: another word of much the same meaning is *lík*, lit. and often = 'face' but sometimes 'order or company': *Lík Svyatíteley*, 'the Order of Sainted Bishops'. *Lík Múchenikov*,

'the Company of Martyrs' (see Pl. XXXVI).

² Now added to the Russian Museum.

³ Grand Duke Nicholas Mikhailovich Románov, *Le Comte Paul Stroganow*, 1905, xvii-xix.

second and third classes go all the best skill of the Tsar's painters and workshops, and so the icon-painting of Moscow simply vanishes in this generalization. But this vague tradition of the icon-painters and their minute subdivisions bring us to the actual facts, such as those collected by Rovinski who was guided by what the icon-painters in Moscow told him : and so we find ourselves on firmer ground. We can say this much ; for the end of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries we have a series of names of painters who worked for the Stroganovs, but from the early part of the seventeenth some of these passed over to the Tsar's service and for the second half of this century there are no more such names.

The conclusion is obvious : only after the cleaning and publication of the Stroganovs' own collection of icons shall we be able definitely to judge of what their patronage meant to the art. Nothing which is pointed to in other collections inspires confidence. The icon-painters and Rovinski point to certain technical peculiarities as marking Stroganov icons : seasoning the planks so perfectly that the icons are without the warping seen in Moscow work ; special cleats glued across the boards, different cross-pieces, different sizes. All this could easily be borrowed and accepted and gives no definite data. Even an icon with the saints whose names recall those of the Stroganov family may quite well be nothing more than a copy of a good icon ; just as an icon signed by a master who worked for the Stroganovs may also only be a copy : and this actually does happen. In the workshops they often kept such copies as models.

The names of the Stroganov masters which are confirmed by their actual works are not many in number : Stephen Ref'ev or Arefiev, an icon dated 1596 for Nicetas Stroganov, Seméyko Borozdín, 1601 ; Sobolëv, 1598 ; Pershkin, Istóma Sávin, and the Muscovite, Nazarius Istómin, icons with the years 1615 and 1654 : especially Nicephorus the *Mélochnik*, so called from icons with many tiny figures in them, and of these many are assigned to him. Procopius Chirin worked for the Stroganovs, but was at the same time a Tsar's icon-painter ; others did the same, e. g. Emelian of Moscow. In general the orders given by the Stroganovs sometimes required, in a composition, improvement of the design, details, buildings, and hills, also the rendering of the figures and their distribution. For this reason we must not assign to their orders the whole mass of icons which are pleasant in colour, but must judge by the design.

We have already pointed out that such a Russian icon as that entitled *The Commencement of the Indiction that is to say of the New Year* (Pl. XXXI, p. 109) is a late copy of a version which with the very



LI. DORMITION OF OUR LADY, BY STEPHEN (PAKHIR' ?)

Stroganov Style. XVII cent.

remarkable buildings in the background reproduces the complicated design of the Nóvgorod or Pskov school. The buildings ought to represent Nazareth (Luke iv. 16), but they have definite characteristics which must belong to Jerusalem with the Temple, the semicircle of the Sigma, and the Jaffa gates. This is the place to observe what was added to this composition by one of the Stroganov men, Seméyko Borozdín. His *Passing (Provozhénie) of the Year* (Russian Museum, No. 2259) gives the same subject. For one thing the buildings are much simplified, being reduced to a decorative back-scene, on the left a citadel or little town with entrance gates and a portcullis, a church and houses inside, then the town walls in the form of a building with windows above, and to the right a single building with an entrance also closed by a grating. So there is no temple and Our Lord is preparing to read, unrolling the Bible at a lectern in the middle of an open space outside the wall. This may be a reminiscence of the processional prayers at the *Lobnoe Město* (lit. the Calvary) at Moscow, the execution-place just outside the Kremlin walls. We have altogether lost the charm of distant unknown Jerusalem. There are no shaly rocks and a higher place for Our Lord in the centre, with the people below on each side. Now both groups, the priests with white cowls holding up both hands to the Saviour, and the people quietly conversing in a close group, stand on the same level. All the execution of these two groups is finely and neatly done, both the types and faces and even their expressions attentive and reverent, and again their clothes severely and correctly draped, and so is Our Lord's figure. But for all this merit, as a mere icon there has been a loss of all the liveliness seen in the Nóvgorod version, which shows us how a new teacher came into the synagogue, new though one of themselves, and began to read and explain the Bible. Even the text which is suitable for the New Year, Luke iv. 18, 19, ending 'to preach the acceptable year of the Lord' has given place to v. 24, 'No prophet is accepted in his own country'.

The icon of *Our Lady's Dormition*,¹ signed by Stephen (probably Stephen Pakhir' and not Stephen Arefiev who was earlier in date), may serve as an example of the Stroganov school at the moment of its merging into the Muscovite. The particular virtuosity of the draperies is in the taste of Procopius Chirin of the early seventeenth century, but quite clearly Muscovite: indeed, we have in it a repeti-

¹ Pl. LI. Russian Museum, No. 3017. Note the haloes of coloured enamel. Atho-nius was a Jew who ventured to lay his hand upon Our Lady's bier as it was being

borne to Gethsemane, wishing to upset it. The hand was struck off by an Angel and fell to the ground, but on his saying an *Ave* he was healed by Peter.

tion of all the peculiarities of Chirin and Borozdin, whose new achievements found special favour in Moscow. It is the old composition rearranged. The old pyramidal construction has disappeared, and Our Lord with Our Lady's soul (in the form of a swathed child even bound about with a cord) is on the same level as the two Bishops and the two pairs of women. The Apostles are in crowded groups, and below by the bed crouch Athonius and the Angel, the former with his hand cut off. So we get a full version of the *Dormition*, but very small with many tiny figures. Its good points are partly in the expressions, much more in the elegance of its new tiny design with swelling lines, and in the colours. In the drawing a few effects are most skilfully brought out, the soft melting folds, the fanciful play of fine zigzags. The colouring is mostly in half-tones, buff, orange, smoky brown, dark green, and Venetian velvet, and on such a foundation bright vermilion and 'flamelike' orange. The delicate tones of ochre passing into the finest fused 'painting in smoke' give the flesh the colour of old ivory with no trace of redness. The little patches of high light (*dvizhki*) do reappear in most delicate lines, and on red draperies are the wider lighted planes (*probély*): finally, the chief point in this manner is in the skilful use of liquid gold, by which the shadows and lights are put in with the very finest hatching such as that of a metal engraver. The general impression is that of fine and skilful icon-painting, but only as a mere craft: this accounts for the comparatively large number of good painters and the many examples of their work.

To the same Stephen or to Nicephorus is assigned an icon of *The Communion of the Apostles in both kinds*.¹ Although it shows most of the marks of the early Moscow style in arrangement, drawing, and colours, the execution is so weak that we must regard the icon as a copy or the work of a pupil or mere school-work, the drawing being incorrect and the colours muddy. Other icons assigned to the Stroganov style, such as the detailed icon of the *Assembly of the Twelve Apostles*, ascribed to Emelian Moskvitin and painted for Maxim Stroganov, are generally in the ordinary Moscow style with small figures and elaborate detail, and have no marks that should distinguish the Stroganov masters.

Nicephorus Sávin, son of Istóma, a painter who worked both for the Stroganovs and for Michael Feodorovich, is known by many

¹ Pl. LII. Russian Museum, No. 528. Inscriptions: 'The Lord said to his disciples, Come and eat, this is My Body which is broken for you for the remission

of sins': and 'Come and drink, this is My Blood of the New Testament which is shed for you for the remission of sins'. The wording in such icons is not fixed.



LII. COMMUNION OF THE APOSTLES

Stroganov Style. XVII cent.

still extant icons distinguished by the care with which the small figures are executed, and the large amount of shading and heightening in gold. A triptych in the collection of I. K. Rakhmánov in the Rogozhski cemetery has in the centre *Our Lady of Vladimir* and round her festivals with orders (*chiný* or *líki*) on the wings.¹ A thousand tiny figures are in it painted with elaborate care, so that the subject is distinguishable even at a distance, and the beauty of the various deep patches of colour is set off by the shine of gold and vermilion and bright rows of saints in white apparel. But the chief effect, being due to the gold, whether flat or in relief, is a mere matter of skilful craftsmanship. Rovinski notes three more icons by Nicephorus, *The Healing of the Blind Man* (sixth Sunday after Easter), *The Miracle of the Snake* (cf. Pl. LIII and p. 170), and the *Guardian Angel*, and in other collections many other subjects, *The Procession of the True Cross*, the *Dormition*, and the *Protection of Our Lady*, and particular saints, *S. Theodore* and others. All of these are small-scale votive icons, famous for their detailed care, but falling far short of the first-rate merits of Procopius Chirin's works with their severe beauty of figures and expression. Many other detailed icons are but down to Nicephorus; for instance, a small *Deesis* in the Rogozhski church with God of Sabaoth in the middle, Our Lady, S. John the Baptist, the two Archangels, and the two Princes of the Apostles. The figures are correct (in the iconic convention), well proportioned (in the same sense), and handsome, but either without character or with the special points exaggerated, e. g. the Baptist's legs are like sticks, his beard and S. Paul's are twisted into seven locks as if they had been curled: the faces are without expression. The chief merit is in the handling of gold lines and hatchings.² In Soldátenkov's collection, now at Rogozhski, is a *Burial of S. John the Divine*: on a mountain in the Isle of Patmos is a walled town with churches inside: below in a ravine a group of inhabitants who have come to say good-bye to S. John: the latter is in a cave parting with Prochorus: to one side three youths with spades as grave-diggers, deep in grief. At the top S. John stands in prayer among the Angels as if he had already risen: behind a hill Prochorus is sadly telling the tale to a group of townsmen. The whitish ochre is unpleasant, and the light tone over the whole faces and parts of the body give them a kind of puffy look: the figures, being almost twelve heads high, are much too slender.³

¹ Grabar'-Muratov, p. 371.

pp. 373-6, or something very like it.

² This seems to be Grabar'-Muratov,

³ *Ib.*, p. 372.

The icon of *S. Theodore the Tiro's Miracle with the Serpent*¹ in the brilliance of its technique may be put down to Nicephorus and, if his, is a better specimen of work : it shows the old splendour of colour in patches of the favourite hues, but the special merit is the extraordinary fineness of touch, which allows of such shades of expression in eyes and lips as only Procopius Chirin had attained. Equally striking is the detailed work in liquid gold upon the armour, hair, and ornaments of the throne upon which the dragons are crowning Theodore's mother. But all this detailed work brings with it characteristic decay due to the straining after decorative adornment : e. g. the hills have lost their characteristic severity and are elaborated till they look like waves breaking ; and the buildings of the town are heaped together without any plan or construction. There is a childish amusement about the toy-like forms and muzzles of the dragons. The figure of Theodore the Tiro is, as it were, copied from types by Procopius Chirin, but this and all the detailed fineness of work make us less ready to pardon the coarse incorrectness of its exaggerated proportions or the drawing of the horse more like a monstrous mule.

Procopius Chirin (we have notices of him from 1620 to 1642), although he worked as a first-class painter for the Stroganovs, and afterwards was salaried by the Tsar, although he made original drawings, and invented new iconic compositions for subjects set to him, was still ignorant of anything but the conventional iconic drawing, and this he had no occasion or no power to correct by reference to better models or to nature. His figures are exaggerated in their slenderness (ten heads) and leanness (we mean his own original works, not merely icons coming from his studio), the heads and extremities are very small, quite tiny, the weak and as it were senile knees bend outwards as if they were broken, the bodies are thin and the shoulders narrow, the shins long and again very thin. As regards the drapery and its folds, he tried to make them hang intelligibly in accordance with their position, but evidently never used sketches from actual drapery or from a manikin : and besides he arranges them, especially mantles and cloaks, without elegance or taste. What he really set himself to do was to paint in the utmost detail chasubles,

¹ Pl. LIII. Russian Museum, No. 712. 'The Miracle with the Serpent of Christ's Holy Great Martyr Theodore the Tiro', see p. xxii : 'Theodore', 'Angel of the Lord' are labelled. For the story see H. Delehaye, *Les Légendes Grecques des Saints Militaires*, p. 137, Paris, 1909, who prints an early version, but only summarizes the one which

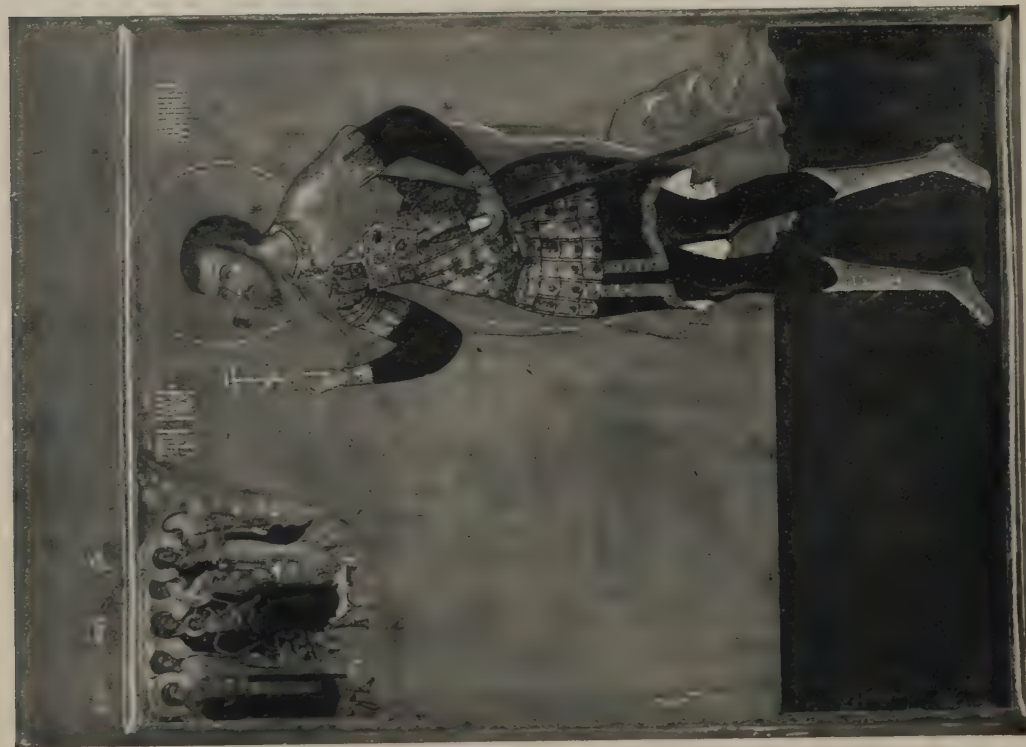
illustrates our icon after Veselovski, *Sbornik Acad. Sci. St. P.* xx (1880), 6, pp. 14-22. In the realm of King Samuel, Theodore's mother waters her horse at the dragon's spring. She is seized and enthroned in the cave. Theodore has to slay the small snakes and the big dragon. He afterwards gains a crown of martyrdom.



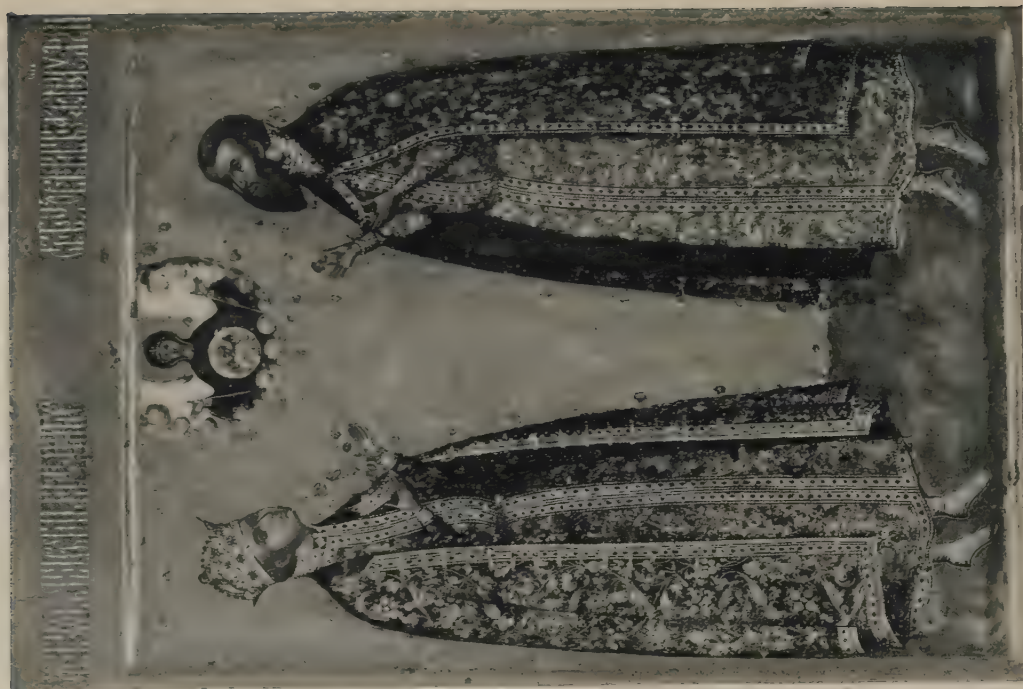
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LIII. S. THEODORE THE TIRO

Moscow School. XVII cent.



LIV. 1. S. JOHN THE WARRIOR, BY PROCOPIUS CHIRIN
XVII cent. Page 171



LIV. 2. SS. DEMETRIUS AND ROMANUS OF UGLICH
Moscow School. XVII cent. Page 172

sakkoi, breastplates, and even chain armour, the latter copied from actual armour, so as to show off his mastery of the tiniest detail: this can be well seen in the icon of *Our Lord* at Rogozhski, in the figure of *S. John the Warrior* who falls at His feet. So again his hills are more like some strange leafage of needles or scales than natural rocks: this fault we find also in Simon Ushakov and all the *fryaz'* school. But Procopius has a real originality of his own in the remarkable force of expression upon the faces of his saints (not so much in the case of *Our Lord* or the Virgin), as in their steadfast fervent prayer they fix their eyes upon the Lord and his Angels who are revealed to them in the skies. This is a new version of prayer to *Our Lord*; it is founded upon a Western not a Greek model. This expression is attained by almost the same means as were employed by Giotto and the Sienese painters when they wished to impress a look of religious ecstasy upon a face: the eyes are strained and fixed and narrowed, the brows are morbidly, nervously contracted, and the gaze concentrated upon the picture or holy vision. Finally, Procopius stands out among all the Stroganov painters for his wonderful colours: vermilion with a lovely orange shade, a soft and transparent velvety dark green, and a brilliant ochre coat, and especially for the gold laid on with the brush in marvellous patterns upon brocades or shining softly upon vessels and plate.

The icon of *S. John the Warrior* is a delightful example of Procopius Chirin.¹ The Saint is, as it were, going forward to meet the heavenly vision of *Our Lady* with the Child upon a throne amid a company of Angels: his face has the features of John Stroganov, of whom he was patron and to whom the icon was given. Like jewels shine the red cloak, dark jerkin, and the scales and patterns of his corslet. The shadows of the cloak are painted 'smokily' (*vide* p. 122) upon the shoulders; the flesh is in the fused manner.

By the same artist the museum possesses three pictures of *Our Lady* in triptychs, and a great *Deesis*: but this latter is probably a school-work and not his own: also it has been much repainted: the figures are iconic and effeminate, the colours being mixed with too much white are lacking in richness and harmony. Infinitely superior are two votive icons painted for the Stroganovs, now in the library of the Rogozhski cemetery: *Our Lord enthroned, adored by Maxim the Confessor and John the Warrior*, and *Our Lady of Pechersk*² *enthroned, flanked by SS. Gregory, Nicetas, Maura, and Eupraxia*.

¹ Pl. LIV. 1. Russian Museum, No. 3049. 'S. John the Warrior'. 'Angels of the Lord'. МР. ӨV. For a diagram of the back

with its inscription see p. 29.

² The great Lavra at Kiev, Grabar'-Muratov, p. 380.

The figure of Our Lord is splendid both in countenance, severely unmoved and beautiful (perhaps the features are a little too detailed), and in the glorious tones of His blue himation and reddish brown chiton. S. John the Warrior is clumsy in his sprawling attitude and his cloak bunched up on his back, but the detailed work of his corslet and mail is brilliant.

Splendid must have been the icon of *S. John the Baptist*, painted by Procopius Chirin for Andrew and Vêra Stroganov, full length, facing, with the big head of a typical old hermit, under an imposing leonine mane rising up from his forehead in thick masses and falling to his shoulders, his beard thin and tightly twisted: the face is of the most magnificent type, dry and ascetic; on each side stretch mighty wings. Behind the Prophet are little hills, and a gnarled oak with an axe stuck into the ground at its root. We know of it from a tracing which gives the outlines, while an ungrammatical inscription tells who painted it and for whom, and it indicates the colours to be used by any copyist, 'background and earth light *sankir*', &c. It might well be thought that the well-known icon of S. John in the Tret'yakov Gallery, with compartments all round the edge, is a replica by Procopius himself. The icon of *Nicetas the Martyr*¹ (nearly fifteen inches high) in Ostroúkhov's collection is probably a late but genuine work of Chirin's: it may be but a very good copy, as the hands and feet are excessively small, compared for instance with the icon of S. John the Warrior, and though the general outline is similar it seems rather the exaggeration of a too eager copyist giving the whole figure a kind of toy-like look: we can see the same in the folds of the mantle, unnecessarily broken and pinched; finally the fur edging of the tunic is so long and hairy as to raise doubts whether it is authentic. So too the face has lost the strong expression of emotion as it turns to the heavenly vision. The same elaboration of detail in garments and trappings, and the tiny scale of the extremities, is seen in the icons of the two Uglich saints, *Demetrius the Tsarevich* (*vide* p. 185), and *Prince Romanus*. The vanished *riza* which covered the background with a plate of silver gilt would have carried out the scheme of the gold-embroidered garments. Above appears *Our Lady of the Sign* in a circle of cloud and bearing Emmanuel within a circle (*vide* pp. 66 and 176).²

But the historical importance of Procopius Chirin's skill is like that of Cimabue and Duccio: in each case what these masters

¹ A Goth martyred by Athanaric.

² Pl. LIV. 2. 'The Holy Faithful Tsarevich Prince Dimitrie.' 'The Holy

Faithful Prince Roman of Uglich.' A feudal prince in north Russia, *d.* 1285. Pl. XLV. 2, p. 150, gives another example of Chirin.



LV. S. ALEXIS, METROPOLITAN OF MOSCOW
XVII cent.

elaborated was peculiarly accessible to their pupils and successors. We can see his manner going on in a whole long series of works, some much weaker, but others better in technique: the great thing is that they are new both in design and in manner: the next icon is a good example of this.

The icon of *S. Alexis the Metropolitan* is so magnificent in technique, and so beautiful in the gentle expression on the face of the saint, that it might be put down to Procopius himself but for certain details of its artistic manner.¹ Procopius is recalled by the slightly bent figure of the old man (in this a concession was made to the stock type, the powerful figure of an energetic bishop being turned into one which is tall but fragile looking and not at all imposing), the gaze full of, as it were, anxious emotion, the detailed treatment of the features and still more of the hairs of the beard, and the patterns done in liquid gold upon the sakkos, pallium, and white head-dress, and the almost identical composition of the company of angels flanking Our Lord enthroned. But as against these points that we have had before, must be set new ones marking another manner more after the fashion of free painting. The whole of the sky is taken up with bluey-grey swirling clouds, their edges marked with liquid gold: this gives quite a special atmosphere to the scene of the saint's fervent prayer. He is praying according to the iconic convention, like the Baptist or some eremite, amid a hilly desert upon a shaly slope of fantastically serrated rocks with a scanty vegetation of dry herbs, dandelions, and little shrubs painted in liquid gold to give their autumn colouring. The rocks, some pale green, a kind of dead colour, some bright yellow or orange, harmonize wonderfully with the religious theme. But who was the craftsman who found this sky and its tones in some Western model that we do not yet know, we shall only find out when at the same time we can put a name to two icons, one of *Boris and Gléb* on horseback, the other of *Basil the 'Blessed'* (*Vasili Blazhénny*), showing the same peculiarities and even higher skill.²

Of the same make is an icon of *S. John the Baptist* praying in the wilderness before the opened heavens, in which appears Our Lord enthroned surrounded by angels almost exactly as on Pl. LV.³

¹ Pl. LV. Tret'yakov Gallery, Moscow. Dimensions of the actual picture 23 × 20 cm. with the border 31 × 26.5. Above the main figure are the words 'St. Alexis Metropolitan of Moscow, the Miraculous', see sketch on p. xxii. The scene above is lettered 'ІС ХС. Angels of the Lord'. The

whole is reproduced full size in Kondakov, *Iconography of Our Lord*, coloured plate 13.

² Grabar'-Muratov, p. 405.

³ Ostroukhov collection, 38 cm. high; Grabar'-Muratov, p. 377; Réau, 38; Halle, 45: ascribed to Nicephorus or Nazarius Savin.

The big central figure stands out against a background of landscape on a much smaller scale, to suit a number of tiny scenes set amid the little buff shaly hills : S. John led by an angel into the wilderness ; wild beasts hiding in the ravines ; S. John drawing water from the Jordan, and suchlike :¹ the whole landscape is more or less like a hill, and along the top runs a thick wood of dwarf oaks, and above this again a greyish turquoise sky. The fantastic play of tiny shaly hills, more like a mass of coral groves, and the equally tiny oak woods, become from this time forth the regular thing in elegant painting and still survive in certain shops at Mstëra as examples of free painting of old allowed to enter into icons. Along with this fancy drawing we also find a special scale of colours dominated by pale tender blue, light turquoise, pale green, and yellowy buff. A good example of this colouring is an icon of the *Baptism of Our Lord* in the Russian Museum.

An icon of the *Archangel Michael, Alexis the Man of God, and the Empress Alexandra*,² in the Russian Museum, also belongs to the middle of the seventeenth century and shows us the best side of the manner established by Chirin. Very characteristic in it is the expression of concentrated solemnity upon the face of the Archangel, and the deep faith and earnest prayer upon the faces of the two saints : here again we have the feathery hills, swarms of soft misty green clouds : it is upon these that, cross in hand, the Archangel appears. The dress of Alexis is expressed with such deep, as it were, engraved lines for the folds, as also the wrinkles upon his wasted face, that it seems almost like a metal covering. So we get a kind of relief and a certain feeling for the underlying body and for nature, more like free painting than pure icon-painting.

Even more remarkable are two icons of the Archangels *Michael* and *Gabriel*,³ part of a *Deesis* with heads only. There is a tracing of this type in the *Siysk Painters' Guide* as a good model to copy. The big plump head is in a *fryaz'* manner such as the painters of Palëkh have adopted. It is covered with small curls starting from the swirl at the crown and going apart in waves to the forehead, and along the temples and cheeks right down to the neck, like a fine-grained fleece. Only two fillets (*toroki*), or ribbons of the head-band, as it were, escape from this thicket of hair and twist down the ear. This type of Archangel is a new appearance in Russia in the seventeenth

¹ This is an extreme case of the incorporating of subsidiary scenes into a main picture : it is quite different from the separate compartments such as we have

in Pls. XII, XLVII, LVIII.

² Wife of Diocletian.

³ Pl. LVI, Russian Museum, No. 1553. 'Archangel Michael'.



LVI. THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL. PART OF A TRIPTYCH
XVII cent.



LVII. TRANSFIGURATION, FESTIVALS, AND SAINTS

Detailed Moscow Style. XVII cent.

century, but it was created as early as the end of the fifteenth, after a fashion in favour at the courts of the Este and Sforza, where the elegants curled almost the whole of their heads which were covered with abundant hair. In this head it is not only the way of dressing the hair which is fantastic, but the Archangel's wings made up of tiny feathers of softest down. Chirin's manner is also to be seen in the very light and 'smoky' fused touch, especially about the cloak. Strange as it may seem at first sight, the fundamental type of these Angels is not to be found in Greek or even in Moldavian icons, but goes back to Italy and the fifteenth century: we find just this treatment of the hair in the masters of Umbria and the North, such as Benedetto Buonfigli (1420-96), or Piero della Francesca (heads of the Prophets, *c.* 1454).¹

The first half of the seventeenth century was by no means the final chapter in the history of Russian icon-painting, as its forms, as worked out by Chirin and some of the other icon-painters to the Tsar, really held their own through the rest of the century and in a definite manner passed on to the painters of Peter's time.² This tradition was not disturbed by the Western tendencies of Simon Ushakóv, who with Bogdán Saltánov and Basil Poznanski,³ forms, as it were, quite a separate streak in the seventeenth-century work. It is not just to say that on the threshold of the eighteenth century Russian art found itself once more in an infantile condition. It is enough to point to the craftsmanship of Moscow and Mstëra which remained for another whole century at its former technical level. It was no case of there remaining merely a 'popular school' and 'provincial wall-painting'.

The icon of the *Transfiguration* shown on Pl. LVII, in the Russian Museum, is very similar in composition to that described on p. 158. With its surrounding Festivals, &c., it gives a good example of the wonderful skill reached by the Moscow school in dealing with work upon a very small scale. Every figure in the subsidiary scenes is clear and is nearly always intelligible even in the reduced reproduction. The icon was a fixed icon in an iconostas, and the reason of the side scenes is probably to be sought in the tracing having been smaller than the space to be filled. The central composition is enriched by the addition of the groups of Our Lord and the three Apostles (duly labelled Peter, James, and John), ascending and descending the

¹ Venturi, vii, ff. 254, 255, 305, 307, 311.

² *Stárijé Gódy* (Old Times), 1913, July-Sept.; P. Muratov, *Icon-painting under the first Tsar of the House of Romanov*.

³ A. I. Uspenski gives many of his very Polish icons in *Zolotoe Runo*, 7-9, 1906, pp. 65-85.

mountain. This first appeared in illuminated MSS. of the fourteenth century and passed to icons in the fifteenth: the MSS. recorded the words of Our Lord on the way, and so an illustration was wanted. In later work the three descending rays are much exaggerated.¹

The background and immediate frame of the Transfiguration are covered with good repoussé metal, and even the haloes and *tsata* do not spoil the effect.

The sixteen other Festivals suffice to show the ordinary compositions, where we have had no opportunity of reproducing larger ones. They comprise the *Annunciation*, *Nativity of Our Lord*, *Baptism*, *Presentation*, *Raising of Lazarus*, *Entry into Jerusalem*, *Crucifixion*, *Entombment*, *Resurrection*, *S. Thomas*, *Half-way to Pentecost* (*vide* p. 108, n. 1), *Ascension*, *Old Testament Trinity*, *Descent of the Holy Spirit* (*vide* p. 155), *Birth of Our Lady*, and *Conception of S. John the Baptist*: except the first they are in the order of the Church's year, the last two falling upon the 8th and 23rd of September.

Below the main subject is a frieze of saints, *Parasceve*, *Cosmas and Damian*, *Barlaam* (Khutynski), *John Chrysostom*, *Basil*, *Gregory*, *Alexander of Svir*, *Nicholas*, *Michael Klopski* (of Nóvgorod, d. 1452), *John the Merciful*, *Anastasia*.

Pl. LVIII gives an example of *Our Lady of the Sign* (*Známenie*), a type whose meaning and importance has already been discussed (*vide* p. 66). This icon, in the Russian Museum, was the work of the royal painters; the type was of course from Nóvgorod, but the Moscow copyist used a very exact tracing, and precisely preserved the special oval of Our Lady's face and features and the whole contour of the circle containing the figure of Emmanuel—Our Lord as a boy.

The metal work gives completely the repoussé frame and background, the nimbus of Our Lady, finished above as a lobed crown (*korúnka*) with semi-precious stones. The type of the icon demanded a special modification of the *tsata* or breast ornament, such as we see upon Our Lord in Pl. LVII. It was combined with the glory and nimbus of Our Lord and hooked to the lower part of Our Lady's nimbus, but has been taken off and hung below in order to let the painting show properly. When the metal work is of this quality the magnificence of its effect cannot be gainsaid.

¹ An icon of the subject, late but very beautiful in colour, has recently been bought by the National Gallery.



LVIII. OUR LADY OF THE SIGN (*ZNAMENIE*) WITH METAL-WORK. XVII cent.

Below is a combined *Tsata* and Glory taken off to show the figure of Emmanuel

X

THE MID XVIIITH CENTURY. USHAKOV

IT is not in the least true that, as Muratov says, the Moscow school only arose in the time of Ivan the Terrible and Boris Godunov. We have seen that it began quite two centuries earlier, and had attained a real development by the time of Ivan. Still it is true that in the middle of the seventeenth century the coming decadence was making itself clearly felt and, as usual, they tried to meet it by administrative measures.

To judge rightly of the essence of this sensible decadence, we must reject the customary attempt to base our history on the study of the detailed small-scale work of the best court icon-painters, or those that worked for the Stroganovs. As we admire their self-confident skill in design, the brilliant patches of bright and orange-coloured vermilion, their marvellous care in fine work, and their very delicate skill in handling gold hatchings and enrichments, we feel that within its limits there is nothing to criticize, criticism has no place. But if we turn our attention to the big iconostases which could not be painted wholly by the real masters, even though they bear the signature of Procopius Chirin, we can easily seize what constitutes the decay and what were its essential causes. We have already spoken of the evident faults of drawing and even colouring in the great *Deesis* in the Russian Museum, signed by Procopius; they reduced themselves to a pupil's exaggeration of effeminacy and prettiness in the movements, gestures, and actual folds of the draperies. If, however, we turn to a great *chef-d'œuvre* of the time, the iconostas in the church of the Miracle of St. Michael in the Chudov monastery in the Kremlin, we shall find another kind of failing.¹ The artist affects a particular refinement and complication in his way of doing folds: the garments of the Patriarchs and Prophets are, as it were, made of the thinnest silk stuffs, so tiny are the folds which surround their shoulders, breasts, and loins: they flutter round their legs, but are held by some miracle in crossing knots under their knees and about their arms. With all this the fundamental drawing or scheme of the clothes is the Byzantine, only the painter has com-

¹ Grabar'-Muratov, pp. 392-400.

plicated them to such an extent with hatching that he gets knots and lumps of folds surrounding the neck and arms. It is clear that he is trying to get the effect of free painting, but has not the skill to attain it and finds himself entangled.

The same happens to the heads and extremities of the figures : the painter only has a general scheme, and as the figure leans forward more than it did, and is even quite bent in order to add to its expressiveness and life, he has not been able to place the head upon the bent neck : so he cannot fit the foot to the bent leg, and makes it touch the ground like a dancing-girl's with the toes only.

In other words, the age was asking for free representation, being already acquainted with it, but the icon-painter was not master of the means to attain it; and tried to make up by complicating the methods of icon-painting. But if the Frankish style (*fryaz'*) is now getting the better of icon-painting, still it is confined to the tiny detailed work which can tolerate absolutely chaotic composition and an elongated and formless drawing. In an iconostas this cannot be allowed. This is one reason for the strong taste for tiny work and also the beginning of decay. Even Procopius Chirin does not make his figures stand properly and firmly : they lean forward impossibly, ready, as it were, to fall to the ground in a heap.

The same thing happens with the setting, the mountains, and buildings : they strive after naturalism and free painting, they try and bring life in by representing the churches and new buildings of Moscow, but they have neither the skill in observation nor in drawing required for such naturalism : we get fantastic churches with dozens of gables and merlons : buildings with figures in niches or upon stages all about them. The rocks turn into, as it were, shrubs scattered over the hills. The trouble is not so much that in 1652 Spyridon Timoféev sets his *Annunciation*¹ against buildings of absolutely baroque architecture, as in the senseless piling up of colonnades within open porticoes, of parapets and stairs on the top of buildings set upon the summits of shaly rocks. Muratov is quite right when he says that 'in such icons the main thing is no longer in what is represented, but in the enrichments and patterns, the elaborate shale of the ground and the excessively detailed drawing' of star-like flowers upon their stalks, in curls, and tiny clouds filling the grey-blue vault of heaven. Yet at this time in many unsigned works of the second half of the seventeenth century, while the drawing is, as it were, swollen and the faces puffy, we find wonderfully soft half-tones, buff, orange, smoky *prazelen'*, black Venetian velvet, and delight-

¹ Grabar'-Muratov, p. 404.

ful work in liquid gold. It must be admitted that this gold shading often entirely veils the colours, and the icon seems shrouded in a dead metal covering. This comes to the figure of Our Lady in the work of Procopius Chirin and his pupils (e.g. Pl. XLV. 2). At the same time under Western influence the flesh colour assumes the look of ivory, e.g. the icon of *S. Nicholas* in the church of the Twelve Apostles in the Kremlin. There begins a competition between icon-painting and the free painting which was practised side by side with it, with its direct copying of nature and varied forms of expression. Icon-painting had to satisfy new demands, to paint portraits of donors upon the icons themselves, and this discord and want of clear understanding was fatal to the career of Simon Ushakov.

Simon Ushakov (1626-86) among icon-painters suffered to the full the effects of differences of opinion and practice which disturbed and divided the craft of icon-painting upon the question of following the ancient tradition or making use of Western religious models and Western painting.¹ The chief examples of his art are preserved in the church of Our Lady of Georgia, by the Varvára Gates in the corner of the Kitáy Górod, built 1657-68.² The church was rebuilt in honour of the icon of Our Lady of Georgia, which, being a copy of the miraculous icon venerated in the monastery of Krásnaya Gorá near Archangel, itself performed miracles during the plague of 1654 : and the church, formerly dedicated to S. Nicetas the Martyr, took the name of the icon. But the attribution of the iconostas in this church to Simon Ushakov himself in person is very uncertain, busy as he always was with a multitude of tasks : the general artistic effect, apart from the separate icons, does not suggest a skilled designer.

An icon of *Our Lady of Vladimir*, painted by Ushakov in the shape of a small oval, gives us a free copy of the miraculous picture in the Uspenski Sobor, set within an ornamental genealogical tree bearing twenty roundels (*kley mó*) with tiny half-lengths of the saints of the Orthodox Church in Russia : Sergius, his pupils Nikon, Savas, Andronicus, Simon, Paphnutius, the Moscow Metropolitans Alexis, Jonas, Philip, Philaret, &c. Below, by the walls of the Moscow Kremlin, Peter the Metropolitan and Ivan Kalitá are planting the tree. In front stand Tsar Alexêy Mikhailovich and his family.³ On the artistic

¹ G. D. Filimonov, *Simon Ushakov and the Russian Icon-painting of his Time*, Moscow, 1873.

² D. K. Trenev, *Pámyatniki drevnerússkago Iskússstva Tsérkvi Gruzínskoy Bogomáteri v Moskvê* (Monuments of Ancient

Russian Art in the Church of Our Lady of Georgia, Moscow), 1908 ; cf. Novitski, *Hist. R. Art*, i, p. 235, f. 154 ; Grabar, ii, p. 125.

³ This part is shown in Grabar'-Murztov, p. 439.

side the icon presents many novelties after the manner of the medieval Westerners : it is full of scrolls in the hands of the saints, and these do not in the least agree with the lively painting of the figures which have freed themselves from medieval placing : these scrolls are specially strange in the hands of the naked saints Maxim and Basil the Fools.¹ Further, I could by no means agree with Filimónov's judgement, 'There is no Russian icon on which I can point to a more successful rendering of Our Lady's face' : and yet Filimonov well knew the face of the miraculous icon in the Uspenski Sobor, so wonderful in the deep sadness of its expression. Ushakóv changed this to one of gladness, a very strange modification of a fundamental characteristic of the face. Besides this he made the eyes unnaturally large, and the outline a wide oval, so bringing it near to the type of Our Lady of Georgia, neither suitable nor successful in a rendering of Our Lady of Vladimir.

An icon similar to this is that of *Our Lord the Great High Priest*,² painted on a polygonal panel to go in the middle of nine round icons (2 ft. across) with the *Teachers of the Oecumenical Church*. Both represent a new way of filling up the lowest tier of an iconostas instead of the so-called 'fixed' icons. The idea of such a tier is apparently to set before the assembly of the faithful great figures of Our Lord and of Our Lady with the Child, visible at a distance, likewise the chief Festivals, or events of the Gospel story, to the memory of which the church is dedicated. But there now enters in a new didactic purpose and this has something of a Lutheran tinge. The arrangement is clearly unsuccessful if only because such icons two feet high are not big enough to be seen among the fixed icons, and so the old and natural scheme of big fixed icons is abolished without any advantage : further, these icons are merely cold and formal and no use at all to bring worshippers into a devotional mood.

Finally, the figures of these teachers, Dionysius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Gregory of Nysa, James, Ambrose, Ignatius, Gregory of Neocaesarea, and Athanasius, in the attempt to make them full of pictorial majesty and iconic piety, have lost almost all the marked individuality of the Byzantine models ; they are less like icons than like the paintings executed by the academic painters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for the cathedrals of Petersburg and Moscow. All these pious heads have essentially the same faces, most of them even the same beards, full, wavy, and carefully combed. Some of these

¹ *Blazhénny*, lit. blessed, is an euphemism for *Yuródivy* (cf. p. 115), the half-witted fakir-like saint common in the Eastern Church.

² Grabar'-Muratov, p. 427.



LIX. ANNUNCIATION WITH SCENES ILLUSTRATING THE ACATHIST HYMN

BY SIMON USHAKOV AND OTHERS. A. D. 1659

Church of Our Lady of Georgia, Moscow

teachers with their prominent eyes have a kind of naïve look quite unsuitable to a Father of the Church.

Against this we must set a really remarkable production of Simon Ushakov's, an *Annunciation with twelve compartments illustrating the Acathist*. This was a hymn composed in honour of the saving of Constantinople from the attacks of the Persians and Avars in the time of Heraclius, A. D. 626, but with this was joined the remembrance of deliverances from the Arabs in 675 and 718. It is sung on the fifth Saturday of Lent, as its name implies, without sitting down. It consists of a *kontakion* or shaft of song (also used on Lady Day) and twenty-four *oikoi* or houses of song, each beginning with one letter of the Greek alphabet; more exactly these are divided into twelve *kontakia* and twelve *oikoi*. Ushakov's icon illustrates the thirteen *kontakia* of which the first words are written above each marginal scene, save that the second *kontakion* is represented by the central piece of the Annunciation.¹ The icon is more than four feet high, so each field is a foot high, which allows room for the work which we have had to reduce (Pl. LIX).

The heading says, *Annunciation of the Most Holy Theotokos*.

Scene 1 showing the defeat of the Persians and Avars illustrates *Kontakion* 1, 'To the Leader that fought for me': Sc. 2 = K. 3, 'The Power of the Highest overshadows', shows all who should reap salvation from the Incarnation: Sc. 3 = K. 4, the wrath and dream of Joseph: Sc. 4 = K. 5, the Magi following the star and adoring: Sc. 5 = K. 6, the Magi going home and leaving Herod: Sc. 6 = K. 7, the Presentation: Sc. 7 = K. 8, Our Lady with the Child, Our Lord coming down to earth to bring up those that call to Him: Sc. 8 = K. 9, Christ above as God accessible to the angels and below as man accessible to man: Sc. 9 = K. 10, Christ above in glory and then descended upon earth: Sc. 10 = K. 11, Our Lord in glory above, below holy men with songs striving to express His bounty: Sc. 11 = K. 12, below Christ descends into Hades to fetch the handwriting that was against us, above He is risen and holds it torn in His hands: Sc. 12 = K. 13, Our Lady adored by all.²

This work of Ushakov's is in the manner of the earlier and better Stroganov artists who took service under the Tsar. The Annunciation itself is neither in design nor in colouring in any degree superior to other good treatment of the subject, but the side scenes,

¹ M. Adey, *Burlington Magazine*, 1919, xxxiv, p. 42, xxxv, p. 102, gives Greek and English text and Greek icons with the traditional compositions that Ushakov set aside: cf. Réau, i, p. 155; *Greek Painters' Guide*, p.

147, and W. J. Birkbeck and G. R. Woodward, *The Acathist Hymn of the Greek Church*, Gk. done into Eng. verse, London, 1917.

² Grabar'-Muratov, pp. 431-5, gives scenes 1, 2, 6, and 10 on a two-thirds scale,

except for Nos. 6 and 11, have been redesigned in a new style, and this none of the previous Russian icon-painters had thought of doing; they had gone on with the degenerate Greek scheme. In this work Ushakov had as partners James Kazánets and Kondrátiev: but as he was the painter of the faces he was reckoned by the custom of his craft *primus inter pares*, and painted after the others, a most important point, as he had the right to give the finishing touches where necessary. The subtleties of his work all passed on not only to his successors, but became general as marks of the seventies of the seventeenth century.

In what did this new style consist which so carried away all Russian icon-painters? Upon analysis we find first that all the scenes taken from the anthem were freshly designed and have a typical composition common to them all: this aims at remodelling the old plastic design, like that of a bas-relief, to make it picturesque. In principle this picturesque manner was no novelty in the second half of the seventeenth century: we know it from all the Western attempts to transfer iconographic compositions to free painting. There is, for instance, the sketch-book of Jacopo Bellini in the British Museum, well known to painters of sacred subjects. Jacopo Bellini did not live long enough to apply his designs to panel or canvas and this we must much regret; for after his time art did not trouble about the problem, evidently having come to the easy conclusion that an icon does not allow of a landscape, and a sacred event with small figures such as the *Flight into Egypt* or *Our Lord in the Temple* does not make an icon. Meanwhile there were similar cases in Russian icon-painting. The icon of *The Saving of Novgorod* when attacked by the men of Súzdal' was painted quite in the form of a free picture as far as an icon-painter could do so.¹ Above on the right is the city upon a hill, down from it towards the left starts a procession with the icon of Our Lady towards a stream which can still be seen under the walls of the Sophia Side of Nóvgorod: beyond the stream the enemy is already retreating before the forces of Nóvgorod.

This same manner of arranging the composition in a hilly landscape with movement downwards to left or right was also used by Ushakov and his fellows: or else the action is performed by groups up and down the hill, or in several tiers, the arrangement for the Saints who stand before Our Saviour's picture in the heavens, or the Holy Bishops before the figure of Our Lady within the hallowed assembly (*sobór*). So in this case the composition on the first subject, 'To the Leader that fought for me', celebrating the deliverance of

¹ See *supra*, p. 66, n. 4. Something similar in *The Church Militant*, c. 1540, Muratov, *Sofia*, 2; *Peinture*, p. 163, f. 52.

Constantinople from the Persians, shows the city above and winds down hill in a spiral first to the left and then to the sea on the right where the Avars are drowning. The next two scenes illustrate *kontakia* after the iconic scheme; the fourth is set in a hilly landscape; the sixth likewise has a landscape, below within a building Herod is receiving the Magi, above they are riding homewards. Further, the shapes of the hills remain the same, but their shaly ledges are made like fanciful shrubs or stone battlements. The buildings are partly changed into the Western type of roomy halls and temples upon tall thin columns with *loggie* and rows of arches. Walls have rows of towers of the north Italian type like the towers of the Kremlin,¹ with many storeys ending in a spire or *glavá*. The simple churches are transfigured into the fanciful many-domed type of Vasili Blazhenny. In everything the decorative side is insisted upon both in the accessories and in the clothes. This makes the iconic incorrectness of the figures in motion stand out all the more, the angular folds, excessively thin limbs, and all the typical faults of late icons demoralized by *fryaz'*.

And yet Ushakov certainly was an icon-painter of exceptional talent: this talent he applied to the study of free painting and design: what he achieved in this new field we see in his freely painted icons of the *Vernicle*, and in general his heads of Our Lord. For icons of Our Saviour, Moscow received from Súzdal' exalted models and the very finest traditions. We have already mentioned the great head of Our Lord at the Rogozhski cemetery, and the miraculous icon placed by S. Alexis in the Andronikov monastery of Our Saviour; we cannot deny to the icon of Our Saviour in the Novospasski monastery a certain impressive severity of its own, and so with *Our Saviour of the Burning Eye* (*Yároe Óko*) in the Uspenski Cathedral (from which Pl. XLI. 3 descends), to say nothing of others in the churches and monasteries of Moscow.² The *Deesis* again, either simple or enlarged, included a representation of Our Lord which in both type and composition went back to Rublëv and was in favour not only in the schools of Moscow and Súzdal', but also served invariably as the model for the Nóvgorod painters. But at this point the development stopped. So much so that the figure of Our Lord in the Pereyasláv Gospels, painted in the early part of the fifteenth century, is unsurpassed in drawing, colour, and expression. It is merely repeated by all the Muscovite and Stroganov schools in a way which

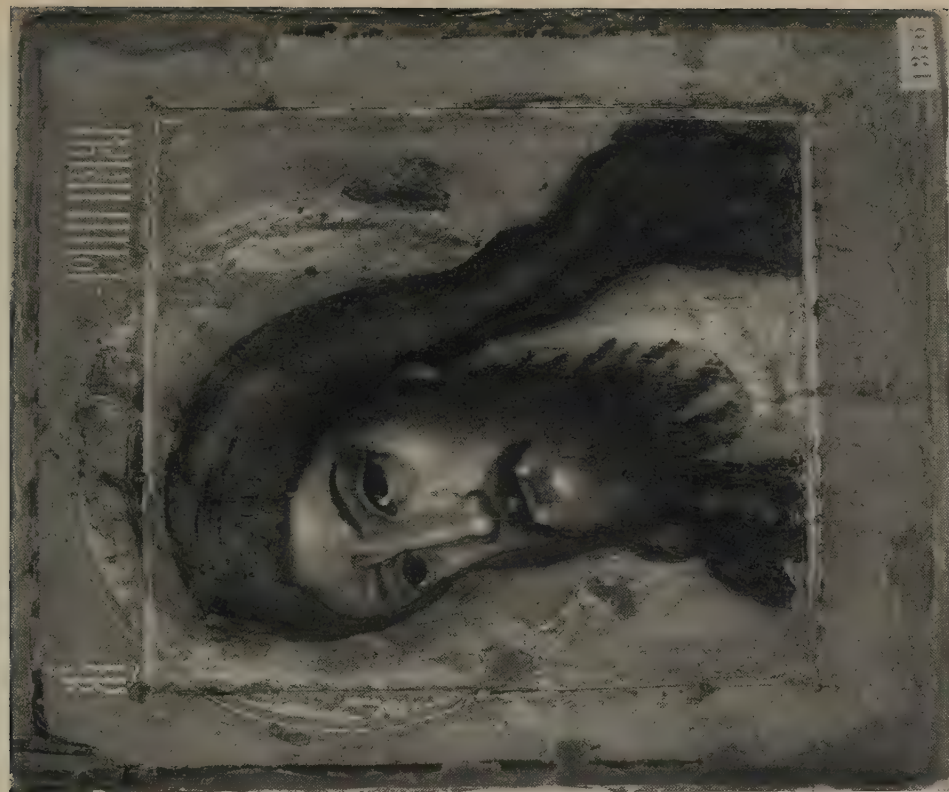
¹ Built by Italian architects between 1625.
1485 and 1508, Réau, p. 244; the best ² Kondakov, *Iconography of Our Saviour*,
completed by Christopher Galloway in Pl. II.

seems, as it were, blunted and worn. If one should seek to characterize the type of the 'Russian Saviour', its only feature is sheer want of character. Such are the seventeenth-century icons in the Russian Museum, Nos. 26, 626, showing just the head and many half-lengths with the Gospel open at the words 'Judge not according to the appearance' (John vii. 24) or 'Come unto me all ye that labour' (Matt. xi. 28). The brow arches of the earlier severe type have disappeared; in the look and in the face there is nothing but goodwill; the eyes are bright and wide open with a certain softness about the corners; the lips are fixed with a kindly expression (even taking the shape of a heart): of the former majesty there remains but the thick wave of hair upon the head falling down below the shoulder.

But among icons of *Our Saviour* a special place certainly belongs to that created by Simon Ushakov (*d.* 1686) and often repeated by him; his pupils and contemporaries reproduced it everywhere, and though of course they distorted it and treated it in icon fashion, still it remains a remarkable production of Moscow icon-painting. But the fact is that this icon has passed beyond the bounds of icon-painting, and the best icons of *Our Saviour* from the hand of Simon Ushakov are executed in the manner of ordinary pictures, and belong to the history of Russian picture painting. These icons are painted after study of the early Flemish models; there is one in the Trinity Cathedral of the Sergius Lavra, and a replica in the church of Our Lady of Georgia at Moscow. A smaller replica is in the Russian Museum and is dated 1680 by an inscription in the field at the bottom.¹ After this comes a whole series of imitations of the type all more or less inferior, some like this, *Vernicles*, others half-lengths of *Our Lord Blessing*, and even in a *Resurrection* by the later master Cyril Ulánov in the Russian Museum. From all these replicas and imitations we get the impression of a type most exactly suitable for a *Vernicle*; a perfect narrow oval for the face as a whole, regular features, a severely serious expression of profound calm show us a Saviour thinking high thoughts of sympathy for suffering humanity. Of all so-called academic types of Our Lord, Ushakov's (which in its way is also 'academic') is the one we can best accept: it fully stands comparison with the Western types, to which indeed Ushakov

¹ Pl. LX. 1. ЗРПН (A. M. 7188=A. D. 1680) . . . *Simon Feódorov po prozvániiyu* (surnamed) *Ushakov*. Until the icon has been carefully compared with undoubted works by Ushakov, we cannot be quite sure

that this means that he painted it himself, and not his pupils or his followers: but the colouring and all the technique agree with his work enough to show that it came out of his studio.



LX. 1. THE VERNICLE. 2. S. JOHN BAPTIST
FROM A DEESIS TRIPTYCH BY SIMON USHAKOV. A.D. 1680

is much indebted: the fine nose is still Greek, but from the West he took the quiet straight line of the thick brows and the balanced unruffled forehead suggesting a nature above that of man: likewise the mild dark chestnut eyes with a touch of sadness in them from the raised lower lid, truly the eyes of the suffering Christ upon the *Vernicle*. But this icon and its companion *S. John*¹ prove clearly that Simon Ushakov was on the right track when he turned to the West and there sought for his talent new ideals and new thoughts, breaking down the middle wall of partition which imprisoned Russian life and Russian orthodoxy in the time of Nikon. In his admiration for European art he lived in the faith and hope that he would come out of darkness and chaos into light.

A special point about Ushakov is that he not only drew the whole compositions (as *známenshchik*) but also the faces (as *lichnik*). In the icon of the *Annunciation* in Our Lady of Georgia's Church, he only did the faces (and not many of them) in conjunction with Kondrátiev and Kazánets, according to the inscription on the escutcheon below. Accordingly all the chief faces in that icon, Our Lord, Our Lady, and the Angels, clearly repeat the ideal type of his Saviour in modelling, pallor, softness, and expression.

Ushakov was enough of a seventeenth-century man to practise etching, or at any rate to prepare designs for etchings. There is a famous one of the *Seven Deadly Sins*, and a dignified rendering of the *New Testament Trinity*, the Father and Son enthroned with the Dove, also called *Otechestvo* or *Paternity*.²

But the ordinary icon-painter tended to relapse into almost childish *naïveté*. The story of the murder of Demetrius, the younger son of Ivan the Terrible, was given in full detail in the chronicle, and on Pl. LXI these details are set one after the other in the familiar hilly landscape: the icon is entitled *The Picture of the Holy Tsarevich Demetrius*. Above we have the young prince with the cross and palm of martyrdom looking up towards Our Lord: below is written 'Demetrius the Tsarevich was slain at Uglich at the order of Boris Godunov by Nikita Kachalov and Daniel Batyagovski in the year 349 (= 1591), the eighth year of his birth. He was stabbed with a knife; his relics were brought from Uglich to the Royal City of Moscow in the year 3PΔ1 (= 1606) in the reign of Vasili Ioánnovich in the 1st year of his reign under the Most Holy Patriarch Hermogenes in the 1st year likewise of his Patriarchate; his relics were laid in the Cathedral

¹ Pl. LX. 2. *Agios Ioann Predtecha* (fore-runner).

² The pattern on p. 43 is reversed from this.

Church of the Dread Leader of the Heavenly Hosts Michael the Archistratege.'

The action begins at the left: 'The murderers came to the Tsarevich Demetrius;' 'They stab him;' 'His mother falls upon his body;' 'The nurse [who was in the plot] weeps for him.' 'The church ringers sound the alarm.' 'The murderers try to break in the belfry door;' 'Nikita Kachalov;' 'Daniel Batyagovski.' 'The murderers mounted and rode away from the town, but lost their way and came back to the town;' 'The people began to strike the murderers in the face.' There is a delightful view of the 'Town of Uglich'. This copy is in the Russian Museum, and belongs to the eighteenth century.

XI

THE LATE XVIIITH CENTURY. DECADENCE

OUR account of Russian icon-painting in the seventeenth century is supplemented by the buildings of Rostóv the Great, Yaroslávl', Kostromá, and Romanov-Borisoglêbsk, industrial and commercial towns to the north-east of Moscow, in which the traders small and great vied with each other in gifts for the glorifying of the churches. A great fire at Yaroslávl' in 1658 made room for work upon a whole series of wonderful churches with their wall-paintings, going on till 1701. Most remarkable are the churches of S. Elias the Prophet and S. John the Baptist in the suburb of Tolchkovo : outside they are adorned with fantastic architectural decoration and faience tiles, inside with bright frescoes, in which the whole technique of painting icons upon panels and its dark colouring in which red is much too prominent is transferred to the walls.

The evident decay in art and skill is exemplified here by the crowded painting : the frescoes are in eight tiers divided into innumerable little panels forming a chaos of disparate scenes in bright and harsh colours. The walls of S. John the Baptist surpass in its multitudes the famous church at Salamis with its 3,724 figures painted in A. D. 1735. Likewise the variety of the subjects surpasses the Greeks, as the Russian painters were even more given to copying Western prints, and in S. John's Church there is no surface at all without painting, even the doors and the splays of the windows are covered with figures. There is no need to be astonished at this abundance : we find almost the same at Rostov, Kostromá, Vólogda, Romanov-Borisoglêbsk, and other towns, of course at less expense and on a smaller scale. Hundreds of hands had gained the necessary skill in the big workshops of the commercial towns, and even in country places and mere villages, such as survive in the well-known villages of the province of Vladimir, Mstëra, Khóluy, and Palëkh.

For us the most interesting part of these great schemes of frescoes is not, however, as formerly, the most important and showy part within the central church itself, but the painting of the porches and passages leading up to it. In the Greek and south Russian monasteries, canvas with subjects painted in oil upon it was hung or nailed to the walls of such passages. North Russia painted directly upon the wall

such themes as *Old Testament Story*, edifying histories from the *Lives of the Saints*, or from so-called *Limonaria* (after the fashion of the *Leimon* or meadow) of John Moschus, or 'Flower gardens', stories of the lives of the Eastern eremites, selected lives of saints, the *Apocalypse*, *Last Judgement*, *Our Lord's Passion*, the *Acatlist of Our Lady*, *In thee Rejoiceth*, *Wisdom hath builded her house*, and such-like. But with all this variety of subject the walls of the churches and corridors everywhere offer only infinite repetition of stock motives, both in the compositions and in the buildings, churches, figures, hills, &c. So too in the church the chief subjects are surmounted in the apse by edifying compositions to explain the *Liturgy* (i. e. the Mass), on the west wall by illustrations of the *Song of Songs*. But for the inscriptions the most careful examination would not enable us to make out, e. g. in the symbolical scenes and interpretations of the Liturgy, why and at what moment we see the Priest at the altar, the Deacon at the Royal Doors, and Angels all round quite close; the Child Christ standing within the Chalice, the Great Entry, and close by an Angel by the altar striking a demon. The whole cycle depends on the arrangement of the Liturgy made by Gregory the Great, and illustrates the words which answer to our 'Therefore with Angels and Archangels' and the *Trisagion*. The scene of the Devil being struck belongs to the moment when the Deacon bids the catechumens withdraw.¹

For icons painted upon panels these iconographic inventions were fatal, coming just at the very end of their development. The fact is that all these complicated imaginations had a certain use and excuse in monasteries, where they served as concrete and perpetual sermons for the monks who spending the greater part of the day in church had time to study all that they offered. The Russian Church adopted part of the monastic services even for lay folk, and spread out this edifying matter upon the walls of the churches. Finally, zeal for ecclesiastical decoration transferred to panels all this selection of themes, and required their execution in the detailed style with innumerable figures.

In the church of S. Gregory of Neocaesarea, at Moscow, there is preserved a whole series of icons painted in 1668-9 by the pupils or school of Ushakov and the Yaroslavl' masters, and setting forth the edifying themes *Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord*,

¹ S. Vakhramêev, *The Church of Elias the Prophet at Yaroslavl'*, 1918; Nekrasov, *The Church of S. John the Baptist at Yaroslavl'*, 1915; Pokrovski, *Wall-paintings*

in the Ancient Churches of Greece and Russia, 1890, pp. 252-97. See also Halle, Pls. 47, 48; Réau, Pls. 76, 79, 81, 92-6; Grabar', vi, pp. 481-534.

The Archangels Gabriel and Michael with scrolls, *O-Father, glorify thy Son*, to illustrate Ps. xlix, lxxxi, cxlix, *Let God arise*, Ps. lxviii, in eleven scenes, an icon of *The Seven Sacraments*, *The Ten Commandments*, *The Trinity*, *The Joy of all that grieve* (Our Lady), the *Acathist*, and suchlike.

A hundred years before, the strictly Orthodox were offended at the novelties in such themes as the *Trinity*, *It is meet and right*, the *Creed*, *Wisdom*, *God rested on the Seventh Day*, *The Only-begotten Son*, for which Greek models could clearly be produced. Much more did the complicated new compositions, tacked on to a new selection of texts from scripture or canticles, give opportunities for finding lapses from Orthodoxy into Latinism. Of course any borrowing from Latinism seemed dangerous even though it were a matter of something older than the schism. The clergy's general ignorance of religious art spread this general principle on both sides of the line, and instilled fear of sin in case of any borrowing. Now we have quite clearly proved that Greek icon-painting had itself, ever since the fourteenth century, entered into close relations with the Italian school, and in the middle of the seventeenth century its idea of ancient tradition was Venetian icon-painting. So the Patriarch Nikon in his search for ancient Greek models vainly asked help of the Greeks. The Greeks themselves by now did not know of such an elementary thing as the blessing with two fingers, evidently the usual one in the early Church up to the ninth century. They declared it to be incorrect, whereas the Old Believers were quite right when they pointed to many ancient icons, especially icons of Our Lord, in which this form of blessing was still represented.

In connexion with Nikon's reform of the Slavonic service-books which began in 1655, were published fresh demands for a strict watch against novelties in icon-painting.

Paul of Aleppo gives us very interesting information as to Nikon's attack upon 'new icons drawn after the fashion of Frankish and Polish pictures', and his own comments are valuable. He says that Nikon was devoted to the Greek models but at the same time exceedingly self-willed. He ordered all newfangled icons to be collected and brought to him from wherever they might be, even from the houses of high officials. He put out the eyes of the icons and the *stréltzy* (Tsar's body-guard) bore them round the town proclaiming that any one who should henceforward paint such icons should suffer exemplary punishment.

'As the Muscovites have the very greatest affection and love for icons, they do not consider the beauty of the picture nor the

skill of the artist : for them all icons, beautiful or ugly, are on a level ; they reverence even an icon which is nothing more than a sketch on paper. Every soldier has upon his breast a beautiful icon in the form of a triptych from which he will never be parted : wherever he stops, he put it up in a conspicuous place and bows to it. When the Muscovites saw how the Patriarch was treating the icons, they thought him to be wrong, were offended and disturbed and regarded him as an iconoclast. At this time there happened to be a pestilence and the sun was darkened just before sunset on the second of August. The Tsar, the Patriarch, and the great people left the city. When the plague abated began the council about the new icons. The Patriarch anathematized and excommunicated all who should make or keep such icons. He took one icon after another in his right hand, showed it to the people and dashed it down to shatter it upon the iron floor-slabs ; then ordered that they should be burnt. The Tsar was standing close to us with bared head, silently listening to the sermon, but as he was very pious and devoted he quietly begged the Patriarch, " No, Father, do not burn them. Let them be buried in the ground ". And this was done. " We ", adds Paul, " stood for seven full hours on the iron floor in much cold and damp. The Tsar sent us food, but hardly had we sat down to eat it, half dead with fatigue, when the bells began to ring for evensong. "

The Old Believers claimed to be the true venerators of ancient icons, before all of Greek examples, and at the same time Nikon and his followers were protesting against novelties in icon-painting, and seeking to correct the icons, as well as the books, in accordance with the best Greek models. And so both sides aiming at the same goal and defending ancient piety went farther than they meant in controversy. The Archpriest Avvakum¹ accused the other side of heresy, and himself in the heat of battle, seeking out the most far-fetched expressions of the most refined theological dogma, thereby distorted the strict system of theological thought. His opponents anathematized him for founding his schism upon this distortion. There was no real question of iconoclasm on the Orthodox side in the seventeenth century, but Avvakum and the Old Believers made as though the whole matter of venerating icons were at stake ; they refuted ' Lutherans and Calvinists ' and repeated all the old common-

¹ The great leader of the Old Believers ; The translation of his *Life* by Jane Harrison his name is the Greek form of Habakkuk. and Hope Mirrlees, London, 1924.

places, setting forth their own true and ancient faith in order to cast upon the other side the suspicion of novelty and want of Orthodoxy. The Old Believers and Schismatics ascribed to the Nikon party the very novelties in icon-painting, and the very tendency towards ordinary painting and naturalism, that Nikon himself had attacked when he dashed to pieces the new icons with their 'unbecoming' painting. They made out that the rather plump figure of Emmanuel was 'invented by Nikon the enemy as if there were lively likenesses of Our Lord and Our Lady after the *fryaz'*, that is, the German fashion'. Avvakum even went so far as himself to invent various extravagances and absurdities, such as Our Lord with a beard at his Nativity, Our Lady pregnant at the Annunciation, Our Lord with full draperies upon the cross, as being found among the pagan Franks. He used these dishonest means to dissuade his followers from having anything to do with the heretics.

Avvakum laid down that the saints of God must be represented by a pious painter as thin and emaciated, not fat and well-liking. Finally the Old Believers came to bitter contention as to whether icons which were brought from the houses of Nikonians could still be rightly revered.

One result is clear: in spite of borrowings from German prints and south Russian paintings, and the evil tendency to small-scale work, and even in spite of the oscillation of taste between icons and ordinary pictures, Russian icon-painting in the seventeenth century was still living a rich and interesting life. But this life, for the time being, had ceased to develop artistic form, and was confined to the enrichment of its content, for so much on the side of form had been adopted during the previous century that time was needed for it to be worked out, and on the side of content much of interest had come in. Along with it had of course been picked up much swollen and empty rhetoric: there were compositions thrown together out of all kinds of old material, but much was still fresh and truly instructive.

The *Vernicle* was now painted *v litsakh* with a visible explanation: so likewise *Our Lord as Pantocrator* was painted *v litsakh*. New subjects were *The All-seeing Eye of the Lord* or the *Coal of Isaiah the Prophet, He shone from the Virgin Womb*. The basis of this composition was the *Burning Bush* (Pl. XXXIII); below upon the earth they figured Isaiah and Ezekiel, Our Lady standing, the disk of the sun in a circle and in it Emmanuel.¹ They painted icons of *The Embrace of the Father, Eructavit cor meum*, and other complicated themes: a good

¹ Likhachëv, *Materials*, Pl. CCCXXIV, No. 622.

instance is the *Paternoster*¹ in scenes summing up all Christian spiritual life : it begins with the *Fatherhood* (*vide* p. 43); for 'Hallowed be Thy name' we have a view of a service in church; for 'Thy kingdom come', Tsar, citizens and people, the heavenly kingdom typified by the earthly; for 'Thy will be done' Our Lord carrying His cross and two young men taking up their crosses; 'Give us this day our daily bread' is shown by a monastic refectory with beggars receiving their share, and so on. By this time the practice of painting on a small scale made it possible for a private person to gather into his own possession the fullest and most elaborate forms of *The Praise of Our Lady*, *The Assembly of Our Lady*, the *Descent of the Holy Spirit*, the *Raising of Lazarus*, and the icons of *Our Lady of Vladimir*, *Kazan*, &c., with all the miracles they had wrought.

From the end of the sixteenth century the *Apocalypse* grew into great favour, both as a subject for icons and still more in illuminated MSS. : the reading of it took the place of the psalter as an occupation peculiarly acceptable to God.² It was indeed a difficult task for the icon-painters to get the Apocalypse on to the small devotional icons or triptychs, especially as the centre-piece of the latter was taken up by the *Last Judgement*. The general position of the Apocalypse in Christian art is complicated : in the early period, particularly at Rome, Apocalyptic subjects such as the four and twenty Elders before the Lamb, the Four Horsemen, the Four Beasts, and suchlike, were actually popular, and illustrated Apocalypses appeared in the West as soon as the eleventh or twelfth centuries : but Byzantium paid little attention to this book and its pictures. It is not until the sixteenth century that we get wall-pictures of it on Mount Athos, and then only in two compositions in the porches or refectories, or later on the west wall of a church and in its corridors.

Of course there were earlier Greek frescoes of Apocalyptic scenes, but they have not descended to us. The fact is that the allegorical sense of the pictures that make up the Apocalypse hardly lends itself to plastic representation, and can hardly be understood without inscriptions. Also Greek feeling was against the literal reproduction which satisfied the barbarous taste of the West up to the eleventh century. Once illustrations of the Apocalypse came into being, the icon-painters were compelled to put together, first on the great wall-icons, and then on the small ones for private devotion, more than forty compartments answering to the scenes of Revelation. And this they could not do by grouping them in a few hilly landscapes

¹ *Ancient Icons in the Póstnikov Collection*, Pl. 97.

² F. I. Buslaev, *The Russian Illustrated Apocalypse*, M. 1884.

because the action goes on in various places and the figures are also various. Accordingly they had to divide it into twelve tiers each with many tiny compartments. We can easily see how such scenes led to the fashion for small-scale painting : also how much beyond the resources of icon-painting was the naturalistic presentation of eclipses, earthquakes, the bloody hail, signs in the sky, the destruction of Babylon and the whole world. Such subjects reinforced the movement towards *fryaz'* and ordinary painting. These difficulties and the extreme complication of Apocalyptic illustrations made such icons rare, and pious people had recourse to illustrated MSS. of which many were produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and held their own among the Old Believers until the other day.

Mostly an icon of the *Last Judgement* was sufficient, and that on comparatively small panels or triptychs so that the scale was always tiny. It is characteristic that N6vgorod delighted in Last Judgements full of brilliant colour with elegant adornments upon the vestments of Holy Bishops, Martyrs, and Confessors, while Moscow preferred a more severe type and restrained colour (Pl. LXIII).

The Apocalypse and the Last Judgement lead on to the representations of life after death. Eschatology played a great part from the thirteenth century, especially in illuminated MSS. describing the *Life of S. Nephon* with his visions,¹ the *Life of S. Basil the New*,² and *How Our Lady went round to see the tortures of the Damned*.³ *Synodica* were in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries among the most widely spread popular books in Russia. The nucleus of these was a list of the departed for whom persons of a given family were bound to pray, both names of people great in Church and State, and also members of the family. To these were added accounts dealing with the future life, legends of saints, biblical stories in various forms, and various edifying matter drawn both from Greek and from Western sources.⁴

All these MSS. of *Lives of Saints* and *Synodica* were illustrated by icon-painters, though the technique was mostly water-colour, rarely in tempera, and the tints pale : still the manner was essentially that of icon-painting. But in the eighteenth century this manner became very careless, approaching the way in which cheap engravings

¹ MSS. are known from A.D. 1219 down to the eighteenth century. A very full example from N6vgorod of the sixteenth century with many illustrations was published by V. N. Shchepkin for the Historical Museum at Moscow.

² S. G. Vilinski edited the text with full

commentary in 1911.

³ Published by N. Bokadorov in the *Kiev Miscellany (Sbornik)* 1904.

⁴ Buslaev, *Hist. Sketches*, i, pp. 622-9 ; Golyshev, *Album of Russian Synodica*, 1896 ; E. P6tukh6v, *Sketches from the Literary History of the Synodicon*, 1895.

were coloured by hand. The drawings became hopelessly monotonous, being mere repetitions, and the painters took to colouring only a part of the figures, so that the MSS. look as if they were only just begun. For all this, the MSS. have a certain importance for icon-painting as many subjects first appear in MSS. and then are transferred to panels. But the difference is that icons do not merely seek to edify like the MSS. and cheap prints, but should also produce a prayerful state of mind ; so they ought to avoid a too elaborately narrative form with excessive detail and repetition. There is in the Russian Museum an icon of the *Vision of S. Nephon* ;¹ it is a seventeenth-century copy of a sixteenth-century Nóvgorod icon, with characteristic buildings, and little churches within a city, severely drawn figures, steep mountains which have not yet lost all reasonable shape, and the ancient form of hell as the mouth of an enormous dragon. It is clear that the Nóvgorod model was a great icon for monastic edification and had long extracts from the life and visions upon its frame, as on our devotional icon there is no title above and the text begins directly : ' The holy Nephon sitting by a dead man saw angels bearing the soul up.' And indeed the angels bearing the trembling soul upon a cloth say to the demons, ' This soul is ours '. ' How can it be yours ? ' answer the demons, ' during life it did every evil and there is no sin that it has not committed '. The angels do not take on trust what the demons, the fathers of lies, say and call the guardian angel of this soul, who declares that this sinful man, in the time of his last sickness, repented. This simple story of a conflict over a soul is set forth in three compartments, and in the last Nephon sees the angels bearing up the soul into the opening doors of the heavenly paradise, while the scrolls on which the devils' lies were written fall to earth. In the next story Nephon sees a man sick unto death and about him the Archangels Michael and Gabriel looking up in doubt whether they should tear the soul out of him, as it did not wish to go. At Michael's request God sends King David with his harp and the soul leaves the body with joy.

The third story tells of a holy man whom a wolf seized with his teeth and led from his cave to a monastery. In the monastery was dying a ' great anchorite ' : but the new-comer saw a terrible angel who tore the soul out of him with a fiery trident and cast it down to hell to ' everlasting torment '.

The *Illustrated Life of S. Basil the New*² is mostly taken up with describing twenty or more various torments, one for each vice and

¹ Likhachëv, *Materials*, Pl. CLXXXIV, No. 321.

² S. Basil died in A. D. 944 : his life was written by his pupil Gregory the Monk.

sin, calumny, envy, lying, anger, pride, filthy talking, drunkenness, witchcraft including the evil eye, poisoning, greediness, adultery, theft, and the like, and ending up with the Day of Judgement was no good source for iconic subjects, any more than the *Visit of Our Lady to the Torments*.

The illustrated *Synodica*, on the contrary, being books of pious memories, full of edifying extracts from the Fathers of the Church dealing with eschatology and legend, provided excellent material.¹

The *Bulgarian Synodicon* tells of Macarius the Hermit, his visions, and his account of the forty days following death: the separation of soul and body, and how the soul of the righteous and the soul of the wicked pass. The Lord sends from the 'seventh heaven' scales and upon them two rolls of the good and bad deeds of the dead. Upon the third day the good soul makes his obeisance before God. On the ninth day the soul sees the torments of hell: on the fortieth day she is brought into heaven with a crown upon her head and listens to the heavenly songs of the siren. Then we have the story of the man who saved himself from an infuriated camel by climbing up a tree with golden leaves from which dropped honey sweetness. He picked the leaves and licked the honey until suddenly he saw that the tree was hanging over a precipice, and that gnawing the roots of the tree were two mice, one white and the other black. This story derived from Barlaam and Josaphat, i. e. from the life of Buddha, is illustrated in medieval reliefs and psalters. Next we have the sermon by Ephraem Syrus upon unjust riches, and one by S. John Chrysostom on senseless carelessness. The story of the death of the rich man and the hermit: by the coffin is pictured the cup of death. There follow examples to prove the benefit a soul derives from offerings made during the forty days after death: it ends up with the soul's visit to the torments and the canon (or set of anthems) of Andrew the Cretan for the departure of a soul.

Tatiana Mikhailovna's Synodicon contains twenty-five illustrations to a book composed by the direction of the seventy-two disciples to set forth 'how we should remember the souls of the departed . . . and what benefit comes from such remembrance'. It begins with the creation of the world, the expulsion of Adam and Eve, the murder of Abel; then the scene of the *Passing of the just soul*. Here it explains that for two days the soul is left with an angel on earth, in the house

¹ *Bulgarian Illustrated Synodicon*, Public Library, Sofia, No. 998, eighteenth century. The *Synodicon* of Tatiana, daughter of Michael Feodorovich, d. 1706, partly her own writing. Amphilochius, *Description of the Library at New Jerusalem* (a cell to Sergievo), pp. 116-24, Moscow, 1875.

and in the coffin : on the third day, according to Chrysostom, a man changes his form. In the next picture groups of angels greet the just soul. On the ninth day an angel takes the soul and shows her the beauties of paradise, the habitations of the saints, and the torments of hell : and at the moment when prayer is made for her, robes her in a crown and royal vestments. When the prayer is finished the angel strips the soul and takes her back to her former place. Then follows a discourse of the soul's purity. Then several stories from Greek sources of how the Empress Theodora raised her deceased husband Theophilus by her prayers, and how a young man was delivered from slavery among the Persians because his parents had Mass sung for him as for a dead man for three years. The tale of the man flying from the camel brings the book to an end.

The popular prints of the time are equally full of moral and edifying subjects.¹ *Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity*; *Monastic Purity* (a monk crucifying vice); *The Glory of Heaven and everlasting Joy of the Just*; *The Vanity of Life* (ascribed to Ushakov); *King Ptolemy sees the Vanity of Life*; *Purity of Soul adorned like a Queen*; *The Way to Paradise*. Iconography could borrow from the *Synodica* and popular prints religious and moral subjects suitable for its use. An early example is the series that runs right along the iconostas screen in SS. Peter and Paul on the Sophia Side at Nóvgorod. It has thirty scenes dealing with the remembrance of the departed, including the views of the torments. The chief church (*sobór*) of the Simonov monastery at Moscow has in its corridors a whole series of these edifying icons : *The History of the Unmerciful Man*, *A Monk's Vision of the punishment of Usurers*, *How a Saint saw only two just men in Heaven out of thirty thousand dead*. In the corridors of the chief church in the Solovetsk monastery are depicted the *Visits to the Torments*, *Monastic Purity*, &c., and the *Apocalypse* in the cathedral of the Annunciation at Moscow.

The reason why Russian icon-painting developed this eschatological side of things and borrowed from illustrated MSS. of the Apocalypse and suchlike is to be sought in the mental poverty into which Russian life had fallen, in the prevalence of a view of life derived from the Old Testament and leading to a monastic ideal. This was reinforced by the fact that just these subjects were coming in like a flood from Greece and the Balkans where they dominated icon-painting at the end of the sixteenth century and all the seventeenth.

¹ D. A. Rovinski, *Russian Popular Pictures. Moral Symbolism in Russian Iconography* 5 volumes, fo.; N. Bogátenko, *Traces of* 1913.

A pious custom that came in just at this time was that of putting beside the icon of the *Guardian Angel* or of the *Patron Saint* other icons with special soul-saving virtue: the commonest subject was the *Parable of Dives and Lazarus* (Luke xvi. 19-25): on the left (e.g. Russian Museum, No. 923) we have a feast in the house of Dives, Lazarus as a beggar in the yard, dogs licking his sores: on the right the rich man is chained in the flames of hell by three demons and is tortured by thirst which he indicates to Lazarus, looking up to him as he sits in Abraham's bosom among the angels above the clouds, just the sort of literal presentation of the parable as you would have in a cheap engraving with its text down the side. The Russians give the name Lazarus to Dives as well as to the beggar. The most elaborate icon of this kind is that of the *Canon or Hymn for the Passing Soul*: such a one as Russian Museum, No. 730, with thirty-three scenes, in the midst the Trinity enthroned, above the hymn for the passing soul, and below the views of various torments. There are twenty scenes for the hymn illustrating each section. The dying man is in the habit of a monk and turns now to Our Lord, Our Lady, or the Child Emmanuel (their icons are shown upon the wall), now to his brethren, his friends, the Archangel Michael, &c., and makes suitable pious speeches to each while their pictures appear above him. Then two angels take his soul from his body for judgement, he prays to the Saviour, to his guardian angel, is plunged by demons into a dark cave, and finally appeals to Our Lady and is saved. The version of the hymn seems to come from Kiev, but the pictures show every sign of Moscow work in the last years of the seventeenth century.

Among edifying and moral icons must be mentioned a coarse and ascetic version of a late Greek icon entitled *A representation of lawful Life*, that is, a pattern of life according to the law of Christ. In the heavens Our Lord gives His blessing flanked by two angels with scrolls. In the middle, upon earth, the pious man, a monk, is redeeming his sins and vices by suffering upon a cross after the text 'crucifying the flesh with the affections and lusts' (Gal. v. 24). Demons are slinging stones or shooting arrows at him. Past him a young man rides a-hawking and finds a rotting corpse¹ upon his way (this too is a Buddha story).

Naturally such a subject exemplifying *Monastic Purity* was not likely to spread into the oratories of secular folk. They were suited with the icon of *Spiritual Purity* or the *Pure Soul*. The allegorical form is that of a maiden in imperial vestments, the dalmatic and

¹ *Cat. of Ct. Uvarov's Collection*, 1907, No. 31, f. 10.

loron (or embroidered cape), and the crown, standing upon the disk of the moon, holding a flaming cup and a lion upon a leash. On a hill at the back a devil is being cast down and a serpent is fleeing from the soul: in an open cave a sinner is grieving: on the right is the sun and in the skies the form of the Saviour between an Angel and the Pure Soul. The inscriptions explain that the Pure Soul's prayers rise to heaven and higher like flames, by her tears she has extinguished the prompting of sin, by fasting has bound the lion, by humility has tamed the snake, so that the devils fall down unable to stand against the goodness of man. The older versions showed Purity descending in a cloud from Our Lord Himself to tame the lion and serpent upon earth.

Next to the *Canon for the Soul's Passing* the greatest popularity belonged to the icon of the *Guardian Angel*. At first they merely copied that of the *Archangel Michael striking down Satan* just as the Greeks drew him. But later the regular form was that of the Archangel descending to earth upon a cloud with a spear or cross in his right hand and a sword in his left. By the Archangel appears the Patron Saint of the man for whom the icon was painted or even the saints after whom he, his wife, and children were named. This is why such Patron Saints of a man came also to be called his 'Angels'.¹ Now was settled the difference in rank between the Archangel Michael and the Angel appointed to guard each human soul, but iconography went on making no difference in their attributes. This appears in the icon here reproduced.² The background is of churches and houses: within one house a man stands and makes his morning prayer before a triptych of the *Deesis* with a hanging (*pelená*, *vide* p. 37) below it. In front the same man lies asleep on a couch: by him upon a cloud the Guardian Angel stands sentinel with the cross and sword, the latter wreathed from hilt to point as being the sword of lightning. On the right an Angel seated upon a cloud is entering the man's deeds upon a roll.

In other cases the motive of the Guardian Angel is expanded into a great number of scenes showing his defensive battles with various foes, among them the special danger of sin that assails men by night: and quite extraneous matter such as the vision of Sisoës (*vide* Pl. VI. 2 below) is introduced.

But iconography in the seventeenth century did not stop short

¹ A Russian keeps the day of his Patron Saint rather than his birthday and this is called 'the day of his Angel'.

² Pl. LXII. Heading: 'The Guardian Angel of a human soul and body comes in the first hour of the day to adore God and

give answer as to what the man has done. His deeds both by night and by day are shewn before God'. In the left margin we read 'The Guardian Angel holds in his hand a weapon against the devil: for the day a sword and for the night a cross'.

28. Слѣхрании
 29. Слѣхрании
 30. Слѣхрании
 31. Слѣхрании
 32. Слѣхрании



XVII cent.

even at the aggregations of scenes and figures, more or less logically connected, of which we have given some account : to reproduce them on any attainable scale would have been useless. The painter would supply what amounted to a corpus of iconic subjects ; such a corpus was called a ' Church ', and consisted of either a single icon, or a polyptych with leaves hinged together, upon which found a place practically all the subjects which should go to the wall-decoration of a real church. This brings home to us the degree to which the fashion for detailed small-scale painting was brought towards the end of the seventeenth century. An even more striking example of the same thing is seen in No. 1586 of the Russian Museum : it is a more recent work executed with remarkable skill and finds room for more than a hundred iconic scenes disposed in twelve rows upon a board about fourteen inches high. Among the hundred are such complicated subjects as the *Creed*, all the *Festivals*, all the Saints for each month (*Menaea*), *The Only-begotten Son*, *In thee Rejoiceth, It is meet* (vide p. 112) in four parts, *Praise the Name of the Lord*, *The Praise of Our Lady*, *Wisdom*, *The Commencement of the Indiction*, and suchlike. Also subjects which are remodellings of older ones, such as *Our Saviour in Council*, *Beautiful in Goodness*, &c.

The icon of *The Second Dread Coming of Christ* (Pl. LXIII : the other inscriptions are obscured), which fitly closes our series, is not as crowded as those of which we have just spoken, but contains a great many figures. The general ground is pure ochre sometimes light or buff coloured. Upon it all the lower part of the Judgement is painted in gloomy tones or even in black, while the upper half keeps a cheerful variety and brightness of tint. The ordinary composition is complicated by an addition above which is not strictly part of the Judgement : mostly there is the Trinity enthroned (called *Paternity*, vide p. 43), but here on the dexter side God the Father sits upon a throne, on His right the New Jerusalem, in the centre Our Lord stands in a mandorla, behind Him are the Angels, and above the heavens with the sun and moon as a scroll held by Angels. On the left a strong Angel with a spear : he ought to be pushing the fallen Angels down to hell which extends up all the left of the picture, but this detail has dropped out. Below Our Lord's standing figure are two Angels and the books spread out and opened ; these begin the true Judgement scene.

The central figure is that of Our Lord sitting as Judge upon a throne in the midst of the twelve seated Apostles : behind them Angels in attendance. Our Lord's figure is flanked by those of Our Lady and S. John the Baptist. Below kneel Adam and Eve.

The centre of the next tier is the 'Prepared Throne' (*Etimasia*)¹ with the book, scrolls, cross, and instruments of the Passion. To its right are grouped the blessed in their orders advancing to judgement: to the left various unbelievers, heretics, pagans, Jews, Arabs, to whom Moses points out Him whom they pierced.

Below this tier souls are being weighed under the eyes of an Angel and a demon; by them is the naked figure of the 'pure soul'. The scales are held in the Hand of God which also holds the souls of the righteous (Wisd. of Sol. iii. 1). In the circles on each side are the earth (personified) and the sea (surrounded by the four winds) giving up the dead that are in them. Below in the right centre an Angel blowing the last trumpet and the four beasts seen by Daniel (vii. 3-7). Under them is a group of the blessed for whom S. Peter is unlocking the gates of Paradise. Paradise is the same composition as we see better on Pl. VI. 2: the three Patriarchs with souls in their bosoms and the Penitent Thief coming into them: above Our Lady sitting amid the shoots of the vine. From this region monks are flying up the right-hand margin to the New Jerusalem above. This latter is crowned by a *Deesis*, and guarded by Seraphim; in it can be distinguished mansions for different orders of saints. The right or happy side of the picture is cut off from the left by the coils of the Old Serpent reaching from below Adam and Eve to the mouth of hell: along the coils are twelve baskets or circles typifying the deadly sins: in the middle below is the figure of a sinner tied to a column. An Angel explains that his wickedness shuts him out of heaven, but mercy has kept him from hell. Below on the left is the great abyss: in the middle Satan sits nursing Judas. A group of sinners is being forced into it and under it are six minor hells with attendant fiends: one is labelled 'burning pitch'. One of the most curious elements in the whole composition is the 'Old Serpent': legends about him go back to Coptic Christianity and represent him as 'immeasurable'. Armenian MSS. introduce him into the scene of the Descent into Hell. Our Lord pierces him with a spear which ends above in a cross.

The small-scale icons came necessarily to be painted no longer in the old truly iconic manner but as ordinary paintings or *fryaz*'. The chief cause of this almost involuntary adoption of the new method was its greater quickness of execution. The old style required patient copying of the types, complicated draperies with angular folds and laborious high lights, whereas the ordinary fashion, or rather the species of *fryaz*' which had been borrowed from the later

¹ Dalton, *Byz. Art*, pp. 666, 668, n. 2.



LXIII. THE LAST JUDGEMENT

XVII cent.

Greeks, had actually simplified the Western painting from which it was adopted, and required only the general modelling of the body, face, and folds, and entirely gave up the characteristically sculpturesque treatment which made the whole effectiveness of the iconic types.

As an example of this there is in the Russian Museum a *Nativity of Our Lord*: the hills are like the strange foliage of fantastic shrubs, and the main part of the composition is the Massacre of the Innocents, which is being done not in Bethlehem but, as it were, in Moscow or Rostóv. We can mark in this how everything Greek or Greco-Russian has become German or Dutch. The figures are much more plump and thick set, with normal limbs, and all absolutely alike, not even a distinction between men and women. All the draperies are ample, even exuberant, and the folds rounded. Our Lady's clothes are like the rest except perhaps for the gold hatching: Herod and the soldiers wear armour meant to be Roman but the details recall the Renaissance: the Magi, instead of the traditional orphreys of gold round their shoulders, wear ermine capes with turn-down collars. The buildings are in the Renaissance style or after the fashion of the Moscow Kremlin. Accordingly, the icon-painters in casting off the ancient iconic method thought to free themselves from the convention which by their carelessness in copying they had themselves completely spoiled: but instead of an artistic manner they merely adopted once more a foreign style and one which was still more debased. The new fashion strikes one more particularly by the complete disorder of the numerous groups, of which, as for instance in the *Nativity* just described, there is really no sense to be made.

The close of the seventeenth century is generally taken as ending the history of Russian icon-painting, although its existence has continued to the present day. Peter the Great apparently was attracted by every craft and art, and upon various occasions bestowed as gifts icons that had been presented to him. The Russian Museum possessed one such given to the Priklonski family, and even the Vatican preserves as a great rarity an icon of the detailed style. But icon-painting gradually withered, most of all because the important orders were now given to painters in the ordinary sense, and the old technique was held in honour by no one but the Old Believers.

Icon-painting hid itself away in the depths of the common people, in the home-practised (*kustarny*, vide p. 2, n. 1) crafts of the settlements devoted to skilled trades; at first such existed in several governments, but after a time they limited themselves to the Government of Vladimir which produced wood for the panels. There were also shops in Moscow itself, but they drew the recruits

for their companies of craftsmen mainly from the icon-painting settlements of Mstëra, Khóluy, and Palëkh, also from Shúya in Vladimir. Only the eighteenth century was a period of complete oblivion: with the beginning of the nineteenth interest in icon-painting revived, encouraged by the obstinate survival among the people of such a forgotten art. It may be said that this archaeological interest did little to help the craftsmen to exist, still less to develop their skill. Free and assured work was the lot of few craftsmen; most of them fell under the yoke of exploiters who organized not merely companies but whole schools for icon-painting in which the painters' families toiled for long years. The master-craftsmen taught by no other method than that of giving their pupils models to copy: when a pupil had reached the grade of master of any particular manner, he was quite incapable of painting in any other manner or even of making any drawing on his own account. Further, the icon-painters, in order to secure uninterrupted work themselves, preferred to work in regular factories or, if they worked at home, to supply the factories with cheap and common icons: or even icons meant to be covered by metallic repoussé *rízy* (*vide* p. 37) so that only the faces, hands, and feet need to be executed. Such an icon is called *pod-ubórnaya*, from *pod* = under, *ubor* = decoration. Even these metallic frames and trappings were largely superseded by the use of gilt or coloured tin-foil, which with imitation flowers made the 'bright corners' of Russian peasants' houses shine with glints of colour. Obviously icons of careful execution and costing several rubles were beyond the means of the villagers, and they had to be supplied with all sorts of counterfeits and cheap stuff.

Next, the enterprising gentlemen who make tin boxes for blacking and other such products, were struck with the idea of applying the process of printing in colour upon tin plates to the production of icons. The firm of Jacquot and Bonacœur was followed by others in opening a factory for making such printed icons and received the approval of the Holy Synod. Such competition brought not only the country settlements but even the workshops at Moscow into a hopeless position at the beginning of the century, and they appealed piteously to the Synod for protection against the undermining of their craft. Of course the printing firms having made sure of the Synod's approval had no idea of advantaging the country people in any way. They just bought up a certain number of the more usual icons as produced at Mstëra or Palëkh, used the designs for their tin plates, and sold the printed reproductions at about the same price as the hand-painted icons: and the diocesan authorities furthered

this commerce. Naturally the firms did not think of executing the whole iconographic cycle still in circulation, and limited themselves to a few dozen of the most important subjects or types (e. g. of Our Lady). Hence any one who had a rare name and wished to have an icon of his own saint could not get any but a hand-painted one. Still icon-painting as a craft was threatened with extinction.

We must further bear in mind that more than three-quarters of Russia, that is, the Ukraina, New Russia along the Black Sea coast, West Russia and Siberia, had no icon-painting of their own at all and had to put up with icons from central Great Russia, which by their unfamiliar forms were for them strange and foreign. This is why for the most part Russian churches have no painted wall decoration at all and are very poor in icons. Except in Great Russia the churches were quite bare of the real 'Orthodox' richness in icons. One reason to which can be put down the rise of rationalistic sects among the people is the indifference to the ritual and iconic side of Orthodoxy.

A committee was appointed by the Government to go into the question of icons and their producers. It recommended that the first thing was to raise the artistic standard of the icon-painting villages, by setting up in them schools for drawing and icon-painting. The next thing was to start a government establishment in connexion with the Holy Synod for printing icons upon wood. The first part of the programme was put into execution, also very important publications were produced, but the latter part of the scheme, which would have relieved the industry of the need to produce utterly unworthy work, was left for another time. The hope for the future would seem to be to raise the artistic character of the craft to such a level that religion would help it to rise to free and personal artistic creativeness.

The Russian people has answering to its high and spiritual literature its century-old skill in icon-painting, and deserves, like other European nations, to have given it a period of education on the basis of its own spiritual and religious achievements.

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Printed in England
At the OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
By John Johnson
Printer to the University

Date Loaned

11-27-21			

